

JPRS 69420

14 July 1977

TRANSLATIONS ON EASTERN EUROPE  
POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL, AND MILITARY AFFAIRS  
No. 1416

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## ALBANIA

### REPORT OF MEETING OF MARXIST-LENINIST PARTIES IN ROME

Tirana ZERI I POPULLIT in Albanian 26 Apr 77 pp 1, 4

[Unsigned article: "Internationalist Demonstration in Rome--From Gramsh and the Resistance to Today's Fight for Marxism-Leninism and Proletarian Internationalism"]

[Text] The Communist ["Marxist-Leninist;" or "true, non-revisionist"] Party of Italy organized a great internationalist demonstration under the slogan "in continuation of Gramsh, the resistance and the partisan war, let us fight for Marxism-Leninism, for proletarian internationalism, the proletarian revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat, socialism and communism," in Rome on 17 April, in which hundreds of workers, day laborers and poor peasants, young workers and students, progressive intellectuals, working women and unemployed who are fighting for their rights, as well as other things, participated.

Taking part in this demonstration, at the invitation of the Communist (Marxist-Leninist) Party of Italy, were also delegations from the Albanian Workers' Party, headed by Foto Cami, a member of the Central Committee of the Albanian Workers' Party, the Spanish Communist (Marxist-Leninist) Party, the German Communist (Marxist-Leninist) Party, the Portuguese Communist Party (reconstructed), the Greek Communist (Marxist-Leninist) Party, the Communist (Marxist-Leninist) Party of San Marino, the Brazilian Communist Party, the Chilean Revolutionary Communist Party, the Argentinian Communist (Marxist-Leninist) Party and the Uruguayan Revolutionary Communist Party.

Excerpts from Comrade F. Dinnucci's Speech

The bourgeoisie and imperialists, revisionist heads of social imperialist societies, and fascist reactionaries and the obscurantists of the Vatican, said Comrade Fosco Dinucci, among other things, are face to face with a crisis in capitalism, and would like the popular masses to pay for everything. But precisely here in the middle of Rome, where they have the greatest centers of their power, our demonstration is intended to show that the working class is not only defending itself, fighting to oppose employers' measures, but is hurling itself into the attack on various fronts of the battle, increasingly unmasking their maneuverers, the trade-union heads, and revisionist and reformist directors.

The working class, he emphasized, is fighting not only for its own life, but for all working people, for the national and, at the same time, the internationalist interests of the proletariat and revolutionary peoples of the entire world.

Fosco Dinucci then cordially saluted the delegation of the Albanian Workers' Party.

We are grateful, he said, to the Central Committee of the glorious Albanian Workers' Party, and particularly to the great Marxist-Leninist leader and internationalist, Comrade Enver Hoxha, who accepted our party's invitation and decided to send a delegation. This is a great contribution to our party and to proletarian internationalism, especially after the Seventh Congress of the Albanian Workers' Party. This Congress marked a fundamental stage for Albania.

The speech of the delegation of the Albanian Workers' Party, he said, is a great contribution to the strengthening of ties between our two sister parties and to friendship between the Italian and Albanian peoples.

Referring to the Anti-Fascist National Liberation War years, he said that the name of "Gramsh" was given to the battalion of Italian partisans, at the proposal of the Albanian comrades, by the battalion's commander, Tercilio Cardinali, who fell with arms in hand while expressing in his last words his pride in being a member of the Albanian Communist Party. Comrade Fosco Dinucci then warmly welcomed the other delegations of sister parties present at the meeting.

Speaking of the revolutionary activity of Gramsh, Fosco Dinucci said that he continues to live with the Italian Communist (Marxist-Leninist) Party, struggle of the Italian Communist Party founded in Leghorn in 1921. He denounced the efforts of the Khrushchevite-Berlinguerist heads, who decided to keep Gramsh and its activity in obscurity. We declare openly to these opportunists that they will never succeed in that because the working class and its Marxist-Leninist party will not permit it, he stressed.

Capitalist society, continued Dinucci, has been hit by a profound crisis in all fields. The bourgeoisie is trying to make the popular masses suffer the consequences of this crisis. He emphasized that the working class will not reconcile itself to such a situation, and has risen to do battle. The two superpowers, the orator continued, are the biggest exploiters and oppressors on a worldwide scale, and the greatest enemies of the proletariat and the people. While they cooperate in their anti-proletariat counterrevolutionary policy, they are rivals with regard to redistribution of zones of influence, posing the greatest threat of future wars, of a new imperialist world war.

The fight against the two superpowers, said Dinucci, implies the most resolute fight against the military blocks of NATO and the Warsaw Pact, against the EEC and CEMA. The fight against the presence of U.S. and NATO bases

and against the presence of the navies of the superpowers in the Mediterranean is of special importance for our country and its full independence. He emphasized that it would be a serious mistake to rely on rivalry between the superpowers or to think of withdrawing from the fight against internal reaction and from the revolution in order to fight one superpower.

Our party, he said further on, is aware that only class analysis and class determination of every conflict can furnish a proper orientation for broad mobilization of all revolutionary forces. When they speak of "uninvolved countries," of the "second world" or the third world," and so forth, they are not making a correct class analysis; on the contrary, they are concealing the complexity of the class conflict. It is clear to true Marxist-Leninists that one must rely mainly on the people, on the progressive and revolutionary forces, primarily the working class. The reactionary regimes are servants of imperialism, or, at any rate, they always rely in decisive moments on imperialism to oppress their own people.

Speaking of the role of the working class and the common struggle of revolutionary forces and the peoples against imperialism, the two superpowers, the bourgeoisie and reaction, Dinucci stressed the historic importance of the Seventh Congress of the Albanian Workers' Party, especially the report rendered by Comrade Enver Hoxha, who, by his thorough Marxist-Leninist analysis, made a fundamental contribution both to socialism in Albania and to the struggle of the international communist movement, the world proletariat and revolutionary peoples.

Finally, Fosco Dinucci spoke of the Marxist-Leninist movement. In combating modern revisionism, he said, we must fight resolutely against every opportunist position, defend and develop the unity of the international Marxist-Leninist movement and strengthen proletarian internationalism in an active and militant manner, deepening unity and collaboration among Marxist-Leninist parties. Bipartite and multipartite contacts are useful and necessary for this purpose.

Excerpts from the Greeting of the Delegation of the Central Committee of the Albanian Workers' Party

This great meeting, said Comrade Foto Cami, has been organized by the Italian Communist (Marxist-Leninist) to honor the memory of Antonio Gramsci, distinguished leader of the Italian communist and worker movement, who throughout his life devoted himself to the cause of the proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat, and also to celebrate the anniversary of the popular antifascist resistance. The preservation and development of the best revolutionary, liberationist and antifascist traditions of the proletariat and the Italian people, and the determination to carry on their fight until the victory of socialism show that your party truly adheres to the triumphant doctrine of Marxism-Leninism.

The Italian Communist (Marxist-Leninist) Party's 10-year struggle has shown that it is a most consistently revolutionary, resolute and combative political force for the defense and faithful application of Marxism-Leninism and the victory of the revolution and socialism. It is waging a hard fight against American imperialism, Soviet social imperialism and modern revisionism, against reaction and fascism, for the defense of national sovereignty and independence.

He then spoke of the revolutionary and internationalist spirit of the Italian working class and Italian workers, abandoned by revisionist strikebreaking renegades. Comrade Foto Cami stressed that the Albanian people, educated in the spirit of proletarian internationalism by the Albanian Workers' Party and its leader, Comrade Enver Hoxha, is watching with special interest and attention the revolutionary struggle of the Italian working class and Italian workers, and hails their victories. Our two neighbor peoples are linked not only by the blue waters of the Adriatic Sea and the Ionian Sea, but also by common interests in the fight against the fascist menace, imperialism and social imperialism.

Central in our epoch, he declared, is the working class, the most revolutionary class, and the best organized and most conscious in today's society; it is the leading force in the world revolutionary process. Its struggle is transforming the old world and founding a new world, one without oppression and exploitation, the world of socialism and communism, to which the future belongs.

Today, two great, fierce and dangerous enemies, American imperialism and Soviet social imperialism, which are the biggest and most dangerous aggressive imperialist forces that history has ever known, stand in the path of the revolution and the liberation of the people.

As Comrade Enver Hoxha told the Seventh Party Congress, whether the superpowers engage in rivalry or collaboration, the cost is paid by the people. Collaboration and rivalry between them present two sides of the same contradictory reality; they are expressions of the same imperialist strategy to despoil the freedom of peoples and dominate the world.

Since they are the two biggest and most dangerous aggressors, he continued, the people can never rely on either of them in fighting, or saving themselves from the other. Therefore, the struggles of people cannot but merge into a single front, directed simultaneously against both superpowers, as well as against their economic and military alliances--NATO and the Warsaw Pact, the Common Market and CEMA, the "European Union" and the "Socialist Community," and so forth, which are the basic instruments of their aggressive, expansionist, oppressive and exploitive policies. The superpowers, represented in American imperialism and Soviet social imperialism, have tools and allies, consisting of the reactionary and revisionist bourgeois class, stratum and party, in various countries of the world. The fight against the external enemy would not be successful without simultaneously combating internal reactionary forces, and vice versa. These are two fronts of the same class struggle, the fight for liberation and revolution.

Contradictions on the national and international levels within the enemy camp must be exploited and deepened in the interest of the people and the revolution. The methods which can weaken and destroy imperialism and social imperialism and their allies are to develop the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat and peoples' liberation wars and aid and support the people in the fight for liberty, independence and social progress, against all oppression and exploitation from any source, as well as against opposition to the course of reforms, unprincipled concessions and compromises, and unjust imperialist wars. These are the principal methods to defend peace and avoid a new world war.

Speaking further, Comrade Foto Cami pointed out that, in order to realize their designs against the people, the superpowers, the bourgeoisie, and revisionists and opportunists of every stripe are trying to disrupt the proletariat, Marxist-Leninists and the forces of the people and the revolution. Under these circumstances the cause of proletarian internationalism, of international unity and solidarity, has assumed special importance. Both the demonstration which is being held here in Rome today and those held in recent times on the initiative of sister Marxist-Leninist parties express Marxist-Leninist unity and serve to actively strengthen the fight against American imperialism and Soviet social imperialism, the cause of proletarian revolution and the struggle of the people for liberation. True Marxist-Leninists do not recognize several internationalisms, but only a single, indivisible one, as expressed in the revolutionary slogan of the "Communist Manifesto"--"workers of all lands, unite!" Our party supports, and will always support, combat collaboration with socialist countries, the People's Republic of China, the proletariat, the people and Marxist-Leninist parties in the struggle against the two superpowers, reactionary bourgeoisie, revisionism and every kind of opportunism, for the victory of the revolution and the liberation of the people and socialism.

Having spoken of the successes achieved in building socialism and defending the liberty and independence of the fatherland, and the high spirit of enthusiasm and mobilization displayed in performing the important tasks set by the Seventh Party Congress, Comrade Foto Cami stressed that the Albanian people are determined to defend national liberty and independence, people's rule and their socialist victories against enemies. They are resolved to march on the road which the party headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha has shown them and over which it is guiding them, a path which was beaten by the party during the anti-fascist War of National Liberation and the people's revolution.

Close brotherly ties that are being strengthened daily on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism exist between the Albanian Workers' Party and the Italian Communist (Marxist-Leninist) Party. Our two parties stand together on the principle of class warfare against imperialism, social imperialism, reaction and modern revisionism, and are determined to march forward in this historic struggle arm in arm and in complete unity with one another.

Excerpts from the Greetings of the Delegations of the Marxist-Leninist Communist Parties

Just as the countries of Eastern Europe tied to the Warsaw Pact form an internal courtyard for Russian social imperialism, and are oppressed and exploited by fascist dictatorships in its service, said the secretary of the delegation of the Chilean Revolutionary Communist Party, so too are the countries of Latin America considered an internal courtyard by American imperialists, and they are subjected to fascist regimes which more readily plunder their wealth and increasingly exploit their peoples.

Having spoken of the demagogic and treacherous line of revisionists in Chile and other countries of Latin America, he noted it is through the revisionists that Russian social imperialists are making efforts to penetrate these countries.

In removing the danger of war due to rivalry between the two superpowers, as well as in confronting the struggles which they unleash, a great historic task falls to Marxist-Leninists, the proletariat and the people of the world, under the leadership of the proletariat; that task is to make revolution.

Our party, declared the secretary of the delegation of the German Communist (Marxist-Leninist) Party, is fighting for the unity of true Marxist-Leninist parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The results of the Seventh Congress of the Albanian Workers' Party, said the secretary of the delegation of the German Communist (Marxist-Leninist Party,) is considered by us a historic contribution in this direction.

History has shown that imperialism never becomes peaceful or reasonable. Lenin has taught us that imperialism is totally reactionary. Precisely for this reason, a compromise with imperialism is impossible in the fight against the fascist menace as presented to Italian and West German workers and social fascism such as exists in East Germany, or in the struggle against the threat of a third world war, which is grounded in the rivalry of the forces of American imperialism and Soviet social imperialism for world domination. One superpower cannot be relied upon to defeat the other, nor can a "social armistice" be arranged with imperialism. In the face of the sharpening of the class struggle, said the secretary of the delegation of the Greek Communist (Marxist-Leninist) Party, the workers, the popular masses, are becoming more and more aware of the need to fight the common enemy with determination, and complete the fight against fascism, capitalism, imperialism, revisionism and social imperialism. He stated that the threat of a new world war is increasing as a result of the rivalry between the two superpowers, the U.S. and USSR; they are the worst enemies of the freedom and independence of the people, the revolution and socialism. It is our duty to denounce with all our might their aggressive, hegemonistic and warmongering policies.

After speaking of the Second Party Congress, which convened recently, as well as the great internationalist demonstration held in Lisbon, the secretary of the delegation of the Portuguese Communist Party (reconstructed) stated that collaboration and assistance between Marxist-Leninist parties have been strengthened as a result of the Seventh Congress of the Albanian Workers' Party and the internationalist demonstrations in Rome, Ludwigshafen and Athens.

The principal external enemy of our people, he said, is American imperialism, which is supported by the reactionary Portuguese bourgeoisie. He stressed that the Portuguese Communist Party (reconstructed) does not underrate the expansionist, aggressive aims of Russian social imperialism, supported by the revisionist Cunhal clique, either. In the fight against imperialism, revisionism and every kind of opportunism, our Marxist-Leninist parties are increasingly strengthening their fraternal unity based on the immortal principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

After congratulating those present on the organization of this demonstration, the secretary of the delegation of the Spanish Communist (Marxist-Leninist) Party stated that we are now witnessing in Spain a diabolical farce in which those who for 40 years have killed thousands of antifascists and barbarously oppressed and exploited our people are presented as democrats.

With regard to the legalization of the Carrillo group, which the bourgeoisie presents as part of the process of democratizing the country, he stated that there was no longer the question of legalizing a communist party, or even an antifascist party. Today, Carrillo supports the fascist monarchy and the Suarez government.

Today, he emphasized, we have to carry forward the battle against the opportunist elements that are trying to revise the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

The orator further pointed out that the Spanish Communist (Marxist-Leninist) Party considers both American imperialism and Russian imperialism to be the chief enemies of the peoples of the world, and it is impossible to rely on either superpower to fight the other. Similarly, he denounced the opportunist positions supporting the strengthening of reactionary bourgeois armies, presenting them as allies of the working class in the struggle against either superpower.

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## ALBANIA

### BRIEFS

SOAP USE PROHIBITED--In the villages in Lezhe District a number of erroneous concepts regarding hygiene, which greatly limited the use of soap, have been successfully combatted. The development of the country, the complete electrification of all the villages and their supplying with drinking water also created conditions for hygiene and cleanliness. Thus, it was necessary to create a new tradition. Propagandistic work was carried on and campaigns were organized and now the villagers themselves are interested in lime and paints so that they can paint their houses, so that their ceilings will be white and so they will have flowers in their garden. Everyone wants cleanliness and everyone works for it, from the schoolchild to the cooperative member. In order to see the pace of the drive for cleanliness and hygiene in the villages of Lezhe, take, for example, the use of soap. Almost three times as much soap was used in 1975 as in 1965. Adding to this the better use of washrooms and laundries in the villages and the continuing requests for paint for the homes of the villages, one can see what great changes have taken place to cast into oblivion the influence of the erroneous ideas of the reactionary propaganda of the Catholic clergy who said it was a sin to wash one's clothing or to use soap. [Excerpts] [Tirana BASHKIMI in Albanian 3 Jun 77 p 3]

CSO: 2100

EAST GERMANY

SED, HONECKER GREET GDR JOURNALIST CONGRESS

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 23 Jun 77 p 1 AU

["Greetings to the 10th Congress of the Union of Journalists"]

[Text] Dear comrades, dear friends:

The SED Central Committee conveys to the delegates of the 10th Congress of the GDR Union of Journalists most cordial greetings. We link with it the expression of gratitude and acknowledgment for the high preparedness and militant spirit which always characterizes the work of the journalists for our socialist cause.

The congress will draw up a balance sheet and elaborate the tasks of the journalists and their professional union in further implementing the decisions of the Ninth SED Congress. From these new decisions derives the task for press, radio and television to measure up to the new requirements of domestic and foreign policy with increasing effectiveness. For this it is necessary to further develop links with the masses, closeness to life and the power of conviction and to orient journalistic work in all its spheres on the decisive key points of our social development, primarily on the constant increase of efficiency of our national economy. Also in the future the focal point will be fulfillment of the main task in its unity of economic and social policy. As collective propagandist, agitator and organizer, the press, radio and television are called upon to assist in uncovering all potentials for this purpose.

The strength of socialist journalism lies in its being firmly embedded among the workers class, among the people. In our country the papers, radio and television are mass media in the true sense of the word. Our journalism continues the best traditions of German press history as embodied by the work of Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels and Georg Weerth, of Wilhelm Liebknecht and Franz Mehring, of Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg and Carl von Ossietzky. In our country the manacles of capitalist opinion manipulation have been removed and freedom of the press is a reality. The mass media serve the interests of the working people.

In the 60th year of the Red October, which fundamentally changed the course of world history and which also created for the first time the social foundations for a press committed to the people's masses, it will be a special task for the GDR journalists to reflect the fraternal relations of our people with the country of Lenin. Our party regards the journalists as loyal and proven fellow-fighters in the struggle for the noble goals of socialism and peace. It also has great expectations for their future activity. The central committee is convinced that the GDR journalists and their union will master the forthcoming great tasks in implementing the decisions of the Ninth SED Congress with vigor and a wealth of ideas. We wish you all health and complete success for this purpose.

With socialist greetings,  
The SED Central Committee,  
E. Honecker, general secretary.  
Berlin, 23 June 1977

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

HONECKER CONGRATULATES DJIBOUTI ON INDEPENDENCE

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 28 Jun 77 p 2 AU

[Text] To the President of the Republic of Djibouti, His Excellency  
(Hassan Gouled Aptidon), Djibouti, Republic of Djibouti:

Excellency: On the occasion of the independence and of the proclamation of the Republic of Djibouti, I convey to you and the people of Djibouti on behalf of the people of the GDR most cordial congratulations. At the same time I congratulate you cordially on your accession to the high office of President of the Republic of Djibouti.

I have the honor of informing you that the GDR recognizes the Republic of Djibouti as a sovereign, independent state.

Please accept, Excellency, best wishes for the happiness and prosperity of your people as well as for health, personal well-being and creative energy for you in exercising your responsible office.

(Signed) Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council.

CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

GDR GREETES SOUTH YEMEN ON ANNIVERSARY

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22 Jun 77 p 1 AU

["Congratulations to the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen [PDRY] GDR greets the friendly people on the eighth anniversary of the Correction Movement"]

[Text] To Comrade 'Abd al-Fattah Isma'il, general secretary of the United Political National Front Organization of the PDRY; Comrade 'Ali Salim Rubay'i, chairman of the PDRY Presidential Council; Comrade 'Ali Nasir Muhammad, chairman of the PDRY Council of Ministers, Aden:

Esteemed comrades,

On behalf of the SED Central Committee and of the GDR State Council, Council of Ministers and people, we convey to you, the Central Committee of the United Political National Front Organization and to the government and friendly peoples of the PDRY, most cordial greetings and congratulations on the occasion of the eighth anniversary of the Correction Movement.

The Correction Movement of 22 June 1969 paved the road for far-reaching transformations in all fields of social life for the benefit of your country's working people.

We highly appreciate the consistent revolutionary policy of the United Political National Front Organization and of its combat-tested leadership as well as the achievements of the entire PDRY people in solving the tasks of the national-democratic revolution.

Faithful to the principles of its socialist foreign policy, the GDR will also in the future firmly side with the PDRY in the struggle for peace and social progress and against imperialism and reaction.

We wish you, esteemed comrades, best health and success in your revolutionary struggle.

Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council;

Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers.

CSO: 2300

CONTROVERSY REGARDING POLITICAL ACTIVITY OF PARISH COUNCILS

East Berlin BEGEGNUNG in German Vol 17 No 5, May 77 pp 14-15

[Report on continuation of a poll conducted by BEGEGNUNG among members of parish councils and other committed Catholics on the subject: "Does Politics Belong in the Parish Council?--Members of Councils and Other Catholics Answer (Part II)" For related information (Part I of Poll) see JPRS 69254 No 1400, 15 June 1977, pp 16-20 of this series]

[Text] In the following we continue publication (begun in our previous issue) of the answers to our poll. We had asked members of parish councils and other committed Catholics in our republic the question: "Does Politics Belong in the Parish Council?" And by "politics" we did not mean the social and political questions which affect the believer in his religious and civic life. In one of our coming issues we will comprehensively evaluate the results of the poll and also deal in greater detail with further questions raised by the answers. The Editor

Gerhard Mellentin, vocational school teacher, member of a pastoral council, Nordhausen:

It is both easy and difficult to give a clear answer to your question. One may approach it from two aspects, but these are bound to intersect: First from the standpoint of the citizen and the Christian, second from the aspect of a working member of the Christian community. On the one hand many active workers for the Church separate these two halves of their lives; although it is wrong to do so, they distinguish between the citizen and the Christian. On the other hand many others endeavor to combine the two. Our parish councils are often confronted with this problem. What is decisive here is the correct appreciation of the Second Vatican Council documents.

I am in fact a member of a pastoral, not a parish council. But this problem confronts both bodies. In my opinion it is imperative to say yes to your question "Does Politics Belong in the Parish Council?" The decree on the lay apostolate (No 14), the pastoral constitution of the Church in today's world (No 75) and many other sections of the Council documents state

very clearly that the Christian must face social-political problems, and that in fact his collaboration is called for. By way of this collaboration political elements are obviously introduced in the discussions of the parish council also. The ministry itself requires the clear appreciation of the situation of Christians and can be effective only if there is dialog and discussion. In the study groups of congregations questions continue to arise, which touch upon political situations. The parish council must adopt a clear-cut attitude in these matters, make suggestions and, if necessary, convey summaries to superior ecclesiastical agencies. This presumes that an unequivocal opinion exists in the parish council concerning political matters also. In fact, however, most parish councils deal only with "the care of souls as such"--although one may well ask whether there is any such thing.

It is my considered opinion that the question should be phrased differently, something like this: "Why does the parish council fail to meet its obligation, that is to implement the Second Vatican Council resolutions?" That is the matter to be investigated, and the conclusions could then show us how the work of these bodies ought to proceed in order to do justice also to the sociopolitical problems and tasks in the Church.

Kreis Veterinarian Dr Hermann Rademacher, member of the Hildburghausen Parish Council:

Article 2 of the statute "Duties of the Parish Council" precisely defines the tasks of the parish councils--at least as far as the parish councils in the Meiningen Diocesan Commissariat are concerned. They consist in collaboration (by suggestions and promotion), the organization of divine service, publication, fraternal services and ecumenical concerns. The statute therefore clearly spells "no" to the question "Does Politics Belong in the Parish Council?", or at least does so with respect to dealing with political questions as specific points on the agenda of a parish council meeting. Also, in view of the fact that the parish council meets only once every 3 months, it is necessary to use the time available exclusively for discussions of internal Church affairs.

As, however, in this day and age the Christian is constantly confronted with "politics" in his professional and private life, it is my belief that the political dialog must be maintained by the members of the parish council--whether in private talks with other members, within the framework of study groups or by cooperation in the study group "Christian Circles" of the National Front. Here the individual members of the parish council will find a large and wide open field of activity.

None of this should be taken to mean that political questions must be absolutely avoided by the parish council as an ecclesiastical organ. Whenever they arise in connection with the attempt to deal with internal Church matters as sketched earlier (and this may happen at any time), they should be

dealt with and fully debated--but only insofar as they affect the ecclesiastical problem to hand. I myself would oppose the inclusion of specifically political questions as points on the agenda at a parish council meeting.

Dr Bernhard Siebert, scientific collaborator, formerly chairman of the Reichenbach, Vogtland, Parish Council.

As far as I am able to judge, many people consider your question "Does Politics Belong in the Parish Council?" a very hot potato indeed. If you ask my opinion, I am inclined to answer "yes." Questions of our religious and civic life should be dealt with in the meaning described by you. Our lives as Christians must, after all, be conducted within our environment. Therefore we must needs be interested in the concerns of that environment. That applies not only to the individual but also to the congregation as a whole. The term "environment" seems somewhat loose. I would like to interpret it in the meaning that anything happening in Chile, South Africa and elsewhere should interest us just as much and call for just as much commitment as the matters affecting only our congregation or our city.

For many, however, commitment ceases as soon as a question no longer involves the congregation--with the possible exception of actions organized by the Church. Anything in excess of this standpoint is often rejected, for instance cooperation with the National Front. The reasons put forward are many, but usually not very sound. In my work, for example, I tend to hear the following arguments: "We will not allow ourselves to be harnessed to the propaganda cart of the National Front!"--Or: "Christianity is alleged to be a bourgeois ideology and necessarily fought by Marxism. As a Christian I am therefore unable to have common goals with Marxists."--Or: "State and society in the GDR are atheistic. We believe in God and are therefore unable to commit ourselves."--Such opinions, though erroneous, are very persistent and make the work of progressive Christians that much harder.

As chairman of the PGR [parish council] in Reichenbach it was my experience that I had to separate my work in the Church and my work in society--I am also chairman of the study group "Christian Circles" at the kreis committee of the National Front, because otherwise there would have been conflict in the PGR. Incidentally, several other PGR members shared my convictions. But in the long run this constant compartmentalization was so insufferable to me that I decided not to run for reelection. This may have been a questionable decision, but in the given situation I could not see any alternative. Insofar I welcome the fact that BEGEGNUNG has decided to air the problem of the religious and civic life of Christians in the shape of a public exchange of experiences. At the same time I would like to express the hope that our bishops may give a positive answer to this question.

11698  
CSO: 2300

## EAST GERMANY

### DUTIES OF AIR DEFENSE RADAR UNIT DESCRIBED

East Berlin VOLKSARMEE in German No 21, 23 May 77 pp 4-5

[Article by Lt Col Oswald Kopatz: "Signal: Attention, Target Approach Flight! Jeziorski Signal Company Reliably Secures Air Space"]

[Text] A rainy day. The turning, nodding antennas of the radar stations are visible only as phantoms. It is weather in which the crows go by foot, as flyer talk has it. However much the eye strains, it can't penetrate 50 meters through the milky grey. But what remains hidden to the naked eye, the high-frequency impulses of the radar stations [detect] penetrating the fog and clouds for hundreds of kilometers. In this manner, no movement in air space escapes the unrelenting, vigilant eye of the air defense. It is the responsible duty of the radar operators to ensure that the enemy finds no loophole, that the radar field is at no moment porous. For that reason every flying object is promptly registered and surely followed; it must stay caught in the firmly woven electronic net and can have no chance of freeing itself. This is guaranteed by a well coordinated, smoothly operating, large collective of radar operators at viewing instruments, interpreters at air location maps and relay equipment, electro-mechanics at heavy assemblies, station engineers and command post officers. Each one needs the comrade next to him. If even one person in the complicated system fails, the combat mission is endangered.

#### Target Traces on the Viewing Instrument

The radar operators, Col Ehrhard Brademann and Pvt Klaus Rosomm, have taken their places before the viewing instruments. Senior Lt Guenter-Joachim Teichmann calls for a report of readiness. In the darkened room--in a manner confusing to outsiders--signal lights, fluorescent viewing screens, and dimly lit measuring instruments may be seen. The eye accustoms itself only slowly to the darkness, then sees more and more details. The radar operators correct the brightness and sharpness of the viewing instruments. Concentrated and yet at ease, they observe the deflecting ray which seems to wipe the viewing screen and makes the target traces light up. No target impulse escapes their gazes. And then, their body posture alters imperceptibly, betraying inner tension as a target trace approaches the marked line ever more closely like an obtrusive beetle. Signal: Attention,

target approaching the national border! Cpl Brademann rivets his eyes on this inconsiderable speck of light, knowing that dozens of kilometers of air space contract into centimeters in front of him. He registers every maneuver, increases the period of information. The beetle creeps closely along its hot line. At irregular intervals the humming of the electronic equipment and the crackling of the high tension [wires] are interrupted by brief orders from the command post. No superfluous word is uttered. Quiet also prevails in the headquarters of the command post. In such moments seconds are decisive. The interpreter, Pvt Rainer Schott, masters his duties at the relay apparatus sovereignly; radar data are received encoded, and relayed without hesitation and target paths are marked and documented. Every datum is exact and unequivocal. Capt Jeziorski at the commander's desk knows at this moment of the high responsibility of his comrades, and he knows that he can firmly rely on every one. The dullness and fatigue, which the strained hours of work in the twilight arouse, are as if blown away. Has the enemy understood that he has no chance? He turns away and flies into the distance over the open sea...

#### Has Ultimate Performance Been Achieved?

Such situations have already been mastered many times in exemplary fashion. The company performed their duties reliably in the assigned section in the on-duty system. It is supposed to be the same in the second semester of training. Is that merely a wish, or is something more hidden behind it? The comrades in any case do not rest content. That was already perceptible the day before at the members' assembly of the party organization. "Communists act in exemplary fashion and change attitudes"--so the basic tenor of that militant consultation at the threshold of the new stage of competition could be characterized. The talk given by party secretary, Senior Lt Kolmsee, as well as the 13 contributions to the discussion, contained the requisite ideas and stimuli for thought.

Certainly the company achieved considerable successes in the first semester of training. The daily evaluation of the on-duty system shows only good and very good marks. Deficiencies objected to may be numbered on the fingers of one hand. Several hundred interception exercises by fighter pilots were secured. The coefficient of technical readiness for operation has an ideal value of nearly 0.99; the inoperative periods are extremely slight in comparison to the hours of operation. The company has a high level of classification. Senior Lt Siegel achieved Class I with best marks. Out of 16 radar operators and electromechanics introduced in the first half year of service, 14 achieved level III. That weighs heavily.

But, the more closely an achievement approaches the ultimate mark, the greater the efforts it requires. From time to time voices are raised to the effect that the limit of what is possible has been achieved, that one can scarcely expect an improvement. "We know, however, and practice demonstrates it again and again, that the limit of performance is not a rigid line, but rather depends on the knowledge and will of the individual.

With each training session, with each new perception, this limit is pushed farther out. Considerable reserves could be opened up, for example, if the performance level of the best were achieved by all." Cpl Schwarzlose not only speaks wisely, with flawless performance of military duty he provides a model of an exemplary soldier. Nor does he disguise the fact that technical disturbances and omissions have primarily subjective causes. Often these may be traced to improper operation and insufficient technical knowledge. Whoever desires complete mastery of his combat equipment must thoroughly familiarize himself with the regulations, circuit diagrams, operating instructions and principles of use; he must exploit the technical parameters and remove emergent defects and disturbances in the prescribed time period.

Are these well known truths, requiring no special mention? The party members of the company are of a different opinion there. Honestly, objectively and passionately they discuss deficiencies in the member assemblies. Thus station leader Lt Erdmann gave vent to his feelings because simple assembly sealers had to be cut by hand. As it turned out, a short time later they were on hand in the supply dump.

Ten Minutes--Paid for Dearly

"Naturally we take great pains to keep the combat equipment continually operable. How well we succeed may be seen from the fact that the station works faultlessly and achieves the prescribed parameters of performance. I require, however, that preventive maintenance can also be conducted after the established operating hours. Currently this time period is still being exceeded." With that, Senior Lt Pawel puts his finger on a sore spot. How to get out of the dilemma? Lt Siegel wants to use the daily inspections and the weekly and monthly controls even more intensely and thoroughly for prophylactic work and, at the same time, increase the specialized knowledge of the radar operators, for technical knowledge and high combat value condition one another. Senior Lt Kindl's station crew happened to experience that very painfully. Ten inoperative minutes irreversibly buried the hope for the title "most reliable station" for this training year. And it was no major technical failing which put them in the red. But just that, indeed, makes the matter even more painful. Unexpectedly the radar operator on duty received the order to put the station into operation. He pressed the starting button. The transformer began to turn. Was it hastiness, was it harmful overeagerness, was it the attempt to be quick?--The radar operator turned off the instruments prematurely. The fuse blew out. The shock traveled through the limbs of the radar operator like a surge of electricity. How could it happen? Before the situation was clearly grasped and cleared up, 10 minutes passed.

### "Black Peter" Out of Place

That technical problems are actually ideological problems was also made clear by Senior Lt Kraatz's contribution to the discussion. He rightly rejected the reproach that he was to blame for the fact that an interception by the fighter command did not take place. For if Pvt Kracht does not master certain situations as radar operator, if, therefore, Senior Lt Kraatz is instructed on short notice to relieve Cpl Schiergott from technical duty so that he can perform combat duty in place of the radar operator, then the question may not be posed: "Why, Comrade Senior Lieutenant, was Cpl Schiergott late in taking his position?" That's going about things in the wrong way. The question belongs to station leader Lt Erdmann: "Why, Comrade Lieutenant, is Pvt Kracht insufficiently capable to perform his duties?" Or should one perhaps blame the fire department for the damages resulting from a fire?

Thus ideological clarification processes were advanced further in that members' assembly, where the inhibiting modes of thought and behavior were presented for discussion. It is the party-bound, combative attitude which should effect better performance, for the Jeziorski company wants unconditionally to achieve the goal of "best unit" in the competition "Combat Course 77."

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CSO: 2300

EAST GERMANY

SHORTAGE OF NEW SCIENTIFIC TALENT NOTED

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 115, 20 Jun 77 p 2

[Text] As admitted by Prof Hans-Joachim Boehme, GDR minister for university and college affairs, in a speech given to trade union functionaries, there is a considerable shortage of qualified new scientific-technical talent at GDR universities and colleges. He stated that increased attention must be devoted to this problem in the near future if the current five-year-plan goals to expand the faculties are to be attained. According to Boehme, the progress achieved thus far in connection with the scientific-technical qualifications of the college faculties is "as before, inadequate." In particular, there are not enough lecturers, and it takes too long to educate new talent to obtain the necessary qualifications for appointment as lecturers. As was recently pointed out at a Dresden conference dealing with the subject of new scientific recruits, the problem of exceeding the time limits is already emerging in connection with the procedure of awarding doctoral degrees; it is "at the present time, almost a normal practice" that students must wait up to 18 months before they can defend their dissertations--long since completed--before the examining board.

Boehme announced far-reaching measures to alleviate the shortage of new academic personnel. Among other things, considerably more students than was the case in the past are to have the opportunity to attain a doctoral degree and, thereby, give proof of their scientific capabilities. Boehme stated that, in view of the increasing importance of science and technology, the GDR cannot afford to disregard scientific talent. "The very first and most important thing" is to find and recruit the most qualified students for a scientific career. In order to do this, "greater pressure on young people toward higher scientific qualifications" is needed.

CSO: 2300

## EAST GERMANY

### BRIEFS

LEIPZIG POPULATION--The population of the city of Leipzig, Fair metropolis of the GDR, has decreased from about 617,000 inhabitants in 1950 to about 566,000 in 1975. Thus, Leipzig--along with Zwickau--is the only large city in the GDR with a declining population figure. In the LEIPZIGER VOLKSZEITUNG, Dr Karl-Heinz Mueller, Leipzig's mayor, gave several reasons for this downward trend: One factor is the superannuated population; over 22 percent of Leipzig residents are retirees (compared with a GDR average of 19.7 percent). The fact that almost 40 percent of the population of Leipzig Bezirk resides in Leipzig, the host city of the Fair, has an unfavorable effect on an influx of residents to Leipzig. Furthermore, the Leipzig industrial area is constantly losing specialists and young skilled workers to new industrial centers. Also, the very unfavorable environmental and housing conditions in Leipzig have a detrimental effect on population trends. Thus, of all large cities in the GDR, Leipzig has the highest proportion of old buildings along with the greatest population density. [Text] [Bonn INFORMATIONEN in German No 12, Jun 77 p 8]

CSO: 2300

## HUNGARY

### ROLE OF SOCIALIST PATRIOTISM, PROLETARIAN INTERNATIONALISM IN EDUCATION DISCUSSED

Budapest PEDAGOGIAI SZEMLE in Hungarian No 6, Jun 77, pp 483-495

[Article by Mihaly Kornidesz: "Timely Questions of Education for Socialist Patriotism and Proletarian Internationalism"]

[Text] In recent years, the interest of young people in patriotism and the problems of internationalism has increased perceptibly. Accordingly, the problem of education in patriotism and proletarian internationalism has also become central to teaching-training work in schools. I regard it as a happy phenomenon that more and more of the pedagogs and teachers are showing interest in this subject and are following attentively the writings which have appeared in recent years in this area.

Education in socialist patriotism and internationalism — like the education in a world outlook in general — cannot be limited to certain courses or hours of instruction or divided up into lines of competence. Almost 3 decades of our socialist experience have taught us that to stress certain partial tasks of education and organize campaigns is accompanied by more harm than good. Our education can be complete and effective only if it embraces the entire process of teaching-training work. We need to strive for the wholeness of education, the manifold development of personality, and within this approach we must from time to time survey those partial areas which in the whole of our instruction — for various reasons — receive a temporarily special role.

We can frequently experience how stubbornly a false sense of a world outlook ranking still exists for individual subjects. Frequently, even pedagogically and professionally well-prepared teachers will maintain that education in patriotism and internationalism can be imparted only by "human" subjects, in contrast to "real" subjects which are unsuitable for education in a world outlook. We can hardly agree with such divisions, for one of the characteristics of the socialist school is that Marxism-Leninism educates to a world outlook in the full process of teaching-training work. Naturally, we know, however, that certain subjects and certain pedagogs are especially suited to teach patriotism and internationalism.

## A Socialist Nation

The new relations which developed as a result of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the victory won by the Soviet Union in World War II have profoundly transformed the objective bases of national development, and the socialist nations have made their appearance along with the bourgeois nations.

When the bourgeois nation was formed it united, in the interest of the bourgeois nation state and the economic and political system of a capitalist society, the various classes and layers, including the manual workers, who lived within the area of the country and spoke one language. The emphasis on the same language, culture and traditions and the same homeland, however, carried with it a tendency toward separation and superiority toward speakers of other languages, the "other kind," as Lenin said. The bourgeoisie used the patriotism and adherence of the working classes for the homeland, the mother tongue, and their history to persuade them to accept their own class interests as the interests of the entire nation. Only in words and legal formulas did it recognize that the working class belonged to the nation, but in essence two nations developed within bourgeois society by means of force outside the economy, the practical denial of social equality, capitalist exploitation, and monopolization of education: these two nations were the privileged exploiters and the oppressed exploited.

The socialist nation, which comes into being in the historical period of transition from capitalism to a classless society, differs basically from the bourgeois nation in that it raises all the people into a nation.

Heated debates have been waged in Marxist-Leninist theoretical literature over the definition of a socialist national concept. When the Cultural Political Work Group, which collaborates with the MSZMP Central Committee, developed its positions on timely questions of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism (TARSADALMI SZEMLE, No 10, 1974) it strove above all with an analysis of the Hungarian situation to define the concept of a Hungarian nation within the social relations of today. A socialist nation is also a constantly changing, developing historical-social category. For example, the function of a socialist nation in the period after the victory of the proletarian dictatorship was realized amid changing tasks and conditions, and the socialist nation has to solve changing tasks in the course of building a developed socialist society. The socialist Hungarian nation, in the words of the positions taken, is a community extending to the entire people, the leading force of which is the working class, its class basis is the worker-peasant federation, and it is free of antagonistic class contradictions.

The belonging together of nation and people strongly occupied the minds of the progressive noble and bourgeois thinkers in the past century. In the middle third of the 19th century, the best of the nobility was already aware that a nation could not be established without the working people, and particularly not against it. Among the first, Ferenc Kolcsey, the outstanding representative of the reform nobility, stated that the people had to be brought within the ramparts of the constitution. At the 1839 Assembly of Szatmar megye,

the opposition delegates conceived it thus: "The constitution means that the nation participates in legislation, and the nation means not only the nobility but all classes in the country's population." Sandor Petofi called for the rights of the people in the great holy name of humanity. All this meant our great ancestors recognized civil equality, the importance of social progress, and on the other hand the need to wipe out feudal privileges; it meant the unity of homeland and progress. Peter Veres conceived it from a different class base than Kolcsey's era: a nation means this much, to think in the people and in the nation. Our historical development was such that the unity of people and nation was realized only in socialism.

### Socialist National Unity

In the struggle for creating a new society, the working class which was able to think in both national and international dimensions gained above all its natural ally in the peasantry, but at the same time it won as part of the people the intelligentsia, and it also won the support of the best from other workers' strata. On basis of the successful federation policy, our party developed its long-avowed and practiced people's front policy, essentially on the basis of which the decisive majority of present Hungarian society lined up behind the ideological and practical policy of our party. One of the greatest achievements of our socialist revolution, a socialist national unity embracing all basic classes and strata of our society, became a reality. Today, with their common activity, the socially active millions gathered in the party and various social and mass organizations show that their true homeland is the Hungarian People's Republic, and that the building of socialism is at the same time the national program of the Hungarian people.

We must clearly see, however, that a socialist national unity will not come about automatically in our social life. The present Hungarian society needs the active cooperation and practical unity of all its classes and strata. With the dissolution of part interests and contradictions among various classes and strata we must assure with the steady dissolving of transitory contradictions that, under the leadership of the working class, every member of the socialist Hungarian nation will find his individual happiness and at the same time cooperate in the building of socialism.

Naturally, the development of socialist national unity cannot dispense with, in fact it assumes, ideological debates between Marxists and non-Marxists, between party members and nonmembers, between atheists and believers. By way of ideological debate and persuasion, we shall promote the acceptance of Marxist-Leninist principles and norms. On basis of experiences in the past decades, we have learned that exposure of the transitory contradictions that go with development and the shaping of new relations does not weaken, rather it strengthens, the credibility of socialism, of party policy. All this calls for greatly conscious activity from those who participate in ideological and world outlook education, including pedagogs. The basic means of this conscious work can only be a logical ideological attitude, and patient debate and persuasion.

Socialist national unity also assumes socialist democracy in which the power of the working classes is brought to fullness, where everyone can participate in conducting the affairs of the community, and where every adult citizen can vote and also be elected. Democratism is constantly advancing in the various work and residence communities. The growing young generation will in all certainty exercise democratism at a higher level, and therefore school democracy is of special importance which will prepare the youth for the understanding and practice of socialist democracy. The relations of the socialist generation as compared to the bourgeois generation will change in respect to other nations and people. The relations of a historically new international community will develop by virtue of the internationalist interests of the working class.

The constantly expanding and developing economic relations of the socialist countries will make it unnecessary to develop a national economic autarky. In Hungary, there was a time when we "tried out" a closed economy based on ourselves. But today we realize that no country like ours, in fact not even a country with greater economic possibilities, can solve its economic tasks by itself. A community of sovereign communities enjoying equal rights and based on mutual cooperation is at the same time the pledge of our economic development.

The interests of the community of socialist countries are closely linked to the interests of individual socialist nations. From the experiences of the international workers' movement we know that we cannot give preference to national interests at the cost of internationalist interests, and that permanent damage to national interests endangers the interests of internationalism as well. The development of the community of socialist countries will apparently continue for a long time to be based on the coordination of international and national part interests, and over the longer perspective, too, we will have to count on transitory contradictions among various part interests.

As for perspectives, we must clearly see that the basic interests of socialist nationalism and internationalism are always the same, and the transitory contradictions can be solved in the favor of socialism. But beyond the historical perspectives, we must recognize that for short-range periods it is always unity and common action that has true strength, and that this serves the cause of socialism and progress.

#### Socialist Patriotism — Proletarian Internationalism

A socialist nation — as I have written above — has its own historically developed and characteristic limits. We regard as such characteristic national limits, for example, the fact that we have been living more than a thousand years in the Carpathian Basin, the Hungarian state was founded about a thousand years ago, and that most of the population of our country speaks the Hungarian language, that we have a characteristic way of life and customs, and so on. At the same time, the socialist nation has, in developing form, its own criteria which point beyond the earlier national limits. The conscious reflection of all these things is socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism, the two aspects of one and the same thing, the

obligations to socialism. In the positions taken in 1974 regarding this by the Cultural Policy Work Group, we may read the following: "Socialist patriotism is an indivisible whole of tradition and present, of continuity and future, of working class and nation." That is, the position strengthens those elements which historically bind us and hold us here, and which are able to assure our further development. Regarding the substance of patriotism and internationalism, we may read: "Socialist patriotism is indivisibly linked to proletarian internationalism. Socialist patriotism is an active patriotism: a community activity, work and constant preparedness in the service of socialism and the homeland."

In the following, I should like to dwell on the practical realization of certain problems in principle regarding the positions taken.

In judging the substance of socialist patriotism, we still have to reckon with very many misunderstandings and contradictions. In the conscience of a part of our society, patriotism lives as a passive, sentimental manifestation — the feeling of belonging, respect for the law, loyalty to the country and our past, etc. There are also some for whom patriotism still means primarily the externals, the formalities. Those come closest to recognizing the true substance of socialist patriotism who understand the ideological dangers of a one-sided, historical concept of patriotism, and therefore they ascribe greater importance to patriotism through work to the building of the country and socialism than to historical externals.

In judging the present-day substance of socialist patriotism, everyday work has a very essential role. As in the history of our people, nation and state, the simple man who did his everyday work honorably always had an important role, so in the present and future this alone can be the basis of our national arising.

It may be justifiably asked how conscious are we of the unity of socialist patriotism and the building of socialism. Our pedagogs frequently raise the question: How far have we come, and how does the quantity and quality of the work we have done bear comparison with our past or with the present achievements of the developed capitalist countries? In the publications of the Budapest Committee for the Organization of Pedagogs, I am familiar with the spirited saying of Sandor Fekete, who said he is always filled with a bit of pride when Hungary is compared to the developed capitalist countries because at least we can already be compared. And this is a gigantic thing.

At the turn of the century when he was living in Paris, Endre Ady, in comparing France and Hungary, wrote of the "ragged dirty Hunnia." We have today gone way beyond such comparisons. In a historically unmatched brief period of time, we have made up a great deal of our century and a half lag, and we are with constantly increasing confidence able to stand comparison in more and more areas with West European countries. With the expansion of the limits of youth tourism, more and more young people have the opportunity to make personal comparisons. The still more modest, perhaps, living circumstances in Hungary are better founded and extend to the whole society, while in most of the

Western countries, insecurity, the danger of unemployment which affects in particular the young, and the constant tensions stemming from social inequalities affect adversely the results of a higher standard of living. Riches, the showy pursuit of luxuries, and a carefree mode of life are at the same time given to a few of the privileged.

It depends on the rate of our economic progress when the still existing quantitative differences will turn in our favor. In respect to social provisions — health affairs, schooling, public education, social provisions, etc. — the ratios are already in our favor. We are able to defend our socialist achievements through international solidarity, and this, too, strengthens the unity of patriotism and internationalism.

In a period of peace-building work, we still have great tasks. In speaking of our times, Gyula Illyes put it like this: "No matter that our nation is a people of heroes, the Hungarians have always been able to demonstrate in peaceful eras whether it is capable of life and freedom of struggle. Hence, peace measures on us as many tasks as do times of strife. If not more!... The world is moving turbulently around us. But here, let us confess, we have a true peace of peace. Windstill. Wind shelter. Demanding that we do, create."

Our economic and social development cannot dispense with the changes being undergone in the cultural life. Lenin wrote of this: "Here the political and social transformation — as it has turned out — preceded the cultural transformation, the cultural revolution to which we have by now still arrived. Now we need only (the italics are Lenin's) this cultural revolution to become a fully socialist country." Thus Lenin indicated with the perceptive "only" that the cultural revolution, the change of consciousness, means a more complex, difficult and at the same time a less spectacular task than changing social-production relations.

The development of a socialist nation does not proceed automatically, and bringing about a consciousness of socialist patriotism can also be done only with long and consistent work. We hardly need write much of the importance of education in this regard, but still I shall stress: Our role in the world, our firmness in the community of socialist countries depends to a great extent on how successful we are in making more effective an education for socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism.

We cannot speak of socialist patriotism without speaking of proletarian internationalism. The party of the Hungarian Communists was an international party since its founding. The international traditions of our historical past, the 1919 Hungarian Soviet Republic, the Spanish Civil War, and the antifascist struggle of World War II are at the same time patriotic traditions. The revolutionary vanguard of the Hungarian working class always raised high the national flag beside the red flag of the proletarian revolution.

In the service of the homeland, the communists were always allies of the progressive bourgeois politicians, writers, and artists. Bela Bartok wrote in one of his letters: "With my whole life in every area, at all times and in all ways, I shall serve one goal, the good of the Hungarian people and the Hungarian homeland." He continues: "My ideal of which I am perfectly conscious ever since as a composer I found myself is the ideal of the peoples becoming brothers, becoming brothers despite all wars and contentions. I try to follow this ideal — the full extent that I can — in my music; therefore, I do not stand aside from any kind of influence whether it come from Slovak, Romanian, Arab or any other source. Let the source only be fresh and healthy."

We are internationalists, and this means that we are united with progressive peoples, united with all those who struggle for social progress, the liberation and independence of the peoples.

From another aspect, the undertaking of commonality with other peoples means that on the basis of internationalism we belong to the community of socialist countries, that we are not alone. The slogan "we are alone" was a definition deriving from a particular situation of the people's writers between the two world wars and was basically a nationalist slogan which equated Nazi Germany and the Soviet Union, and isolated itself from both countries alike. It was an improper and inaccurate description because it failed to take into account the international proletarian interests of the Hungarian working class, and in final analysis the peasantry, and thus it did not refer to the Hungarian people as a whole. The problem in the first half of the 20th century was not that we were "alone" but that we were in bad company. For the first time in our history it has come about that we are among the countries fighting in the vanguard for social progress. The prestige of the Hungarian People's Republic in the world is greater than its dimensions; we are respected not on the basis of comparative area and population but our relative contributions to peace and progress.

With the help of proletarian internationalism, we take over and use the experiences of sister parties, of socialist countries. In speaking of the Hungarian experiences in building socialism, Comrade Janos Kadar wrote: "In addition to our won experiences, it is the battle experiences of the international workers' movement and the lessons of our sister parties that have been constantly of determining importance. Our party learned and is learning from every communist party and revolutionary force. Of particular importance to us is the rich theoretical and practical inventory of experiences of the Soviet Union's Communist Party established by Lenin, the pioneering development of the first socialist country in the world" (TARSADALMI SZEMLE, No 2, 1977).

Education in socialist patriotism and internationalism is realized at one and the same time in various areas. Of these, I wish to stress several in detail.

Impassioned debates have been conducted at organizational meetings on socialist patriotism, how much the young people are emotionally tied to the

homeland, how conscious they are that they must love their country, the Hungarian People's Republic. What does it mean to love the country? To love one's native land, the narrower home? We are bound to the area with thousands of ties — which in this form can be found nowhere else —, to the country in which we live. Beginning with our childhood, we gradually take it into our possession and slowly we grow to love all that is characteristic of this small but really beautiful country. Taking possession of it requires patience, attentiveness, we have to give time to learn to know the country. But in this fast-moving age have not even school excursions become superficial and compulsory trips? The visible monuments of the past — fortresses, churches, castles — and famous museums still are given a place in the programs for excursions, but only seconds are given for learning to know the creations of the present and recent past, to look at the growth and beautification of the country. Love of one's country cannot be narrowed down to love of the past; it must also be bound to the present because only in this way can it be linked to respect and love for the future, the socialist Hungary.

### National Traditions

Keeping national traditions alive is one of the important factors in the internal cohesion of a socialist Hungarian nation. Their relation to traditions also expresses how strong their ties are to the socialist nation. In the demonstration and cultivation of traditions during the past 20 years, the entire cultural institutional system of the socialist state has had a large role. School education, circulation of information, the press, the radio, the television have made known in broad scope the role of valuable national traditions and their importance. In recent decades, the revolutionary, progressive tradition, on one hand, has become rooted in the broadest masses; and on the other hand, the inner interrelationships of the socialist present. Our people have been able to take possession of their own historical past.

In the discovery and cultivation of traditions, a significant role has been played by the observance of various anniversaries. We remembered the anniversaries in a worthy way of the birth of outstanding personalities — Dozsa, Petofi, Ferenc Rakoczi II, Mihaly Karolyi. In addition to the revolutionary and independence traditions, we devoted greater care in recent years to cultivating certain valuable political, economic, historical and cultural heritages of the feudal and bourgeois societies. This is how many a figure of our feudal history who played a progressive role in his time entered into our system of traditions from our first King Stephen I through Matyas Hunyadi, to Istvan Szechenyi.

In the early 1970's, a lively debate unfolded regarding the function and interpretation of our national traditions. The historians and literary historians who participated in the debates which sometimes were highly heated did not remain within narrow professional forums, but appeared before the public, too, through literary periodicals. The debate, started by Erik Molnar, unfolded around the national question and discharged into other polemics on national

traditions held under different auspices. The temporary advance of a one-sided projection of national viewpoints, a doctrinaire handling of social progress, and other improper concepts also caused serious disturbances in the teaching of history in the schools.

In response to the latent survival of the bourgeois interpretation of traditions, partly as a result of the subordination of tradition to daily political requirements, — in the first half of the 1950's — we interpreted national independence traditions in a one-sided manner. The independence wars — although in general they were actually accompanied by the demands of certain social progress — received an "above class" interpretation; at the same time, little was said of the class warfare between nobility and peasants, between actual class conflicts. As a consequence, despite the significant results that were attained, the national tradition, the positive tradition became for a long time synonymous in our system of traditions, and this strengthened the nationalist concept of national traditions.

Certain kinds of nationalist approaches are still linked particularly to the evaluation of traditions from the 1848-1849 bourgeois revolution and war of independence; these leave out of consideration the antagonistic contradictions between the social classes of the time (peasantry and nobility) and proclaim the full social, economic and political unity of Hungarians. It is precisely the younger age groups, those in schools — partly because of their deficient historical knowledge — who are inclined to look at 1848-1849 with romantic eyes in colors divorced from reality, to overevaluate the importance of the revolution and war of independence, the effects of which are still felt, or to underestimate the existing social contrasts.

For several years now, we have reached the point where national and class points of view are both present in our interpretation of traditions, although from time to time there is still evidence of attempts at some kind of blurring. Even an offering of full traditions cannot mean that Dozsa and Werbeczi may be set side by side. We must choose between the two.

In his talk before the Writers' Federation, Ferenc Juhasz explained that he himself understandably chooses Dozsa, but he also acknowledged the fact that we cannot throw anything out of our past, or deny it, and still this does not mean every tradition must be accepted.

The cultivation of traditions, the newly developed cult for the observance of certain anniversaries, the mythologizing of traditions also carry certain hidden dangers: they can be the source of nationalism, too. In his widely discussed study "Thoughts on National Traditions," Tibor Klaniczay wrote: it can easily flow into nationalism "if the national tradition becomes some kind of holy and inviolable canon, a fawned-on idol, a rigid idea; tradition must be recognized and guarded, but not canonized."

It is well known that there were big debates in the 1960's over Csere-Andras Kovacs's "Cold Days" and Istvan Nemeskurty's "This Happened After Mohacs." A common characteristic of the two works, different in subject and form, was

that they each looked critically at a certain era of our historical past where national shame instead of glory was dominant. A critical depiction of our historical past cannot be regarded antitraditional, or as a deheroization worthy of being anathematized.

Heroization and deheroization are a concept pair — this is by many an example — which derive from extremes. To return to the 16th century wars against the Turks, I shall mention one example of this. In 1952, a historical work appeared on the 400th anniversary of the defense of Eger castle, the heroic fight of the castle defenders, the handful of troops left in the lurch by the king, and Captain Dobo's outstanding heroism. In 1971, the same author published another book in which we might read that pestilence decimated the Turkish camp, King Ferdinand sent military assistance and ammunition to Eger, and regarding Dobo that he was one of the "imperious parvenu lords." The example is obviously an extreme one, and the years of origin for these works also explain a great deal. The 1971 work is an esteemed creation of Marxist historical writing, and perhaps — I am not an expert in this question — it deheroizes less than the 1952 work heroizes. The showing of faults, mistakes and errors is not deheroization; actualities and the demonstration of historical reality should not disturb anyone because we should not conceal or be ashamed of facts. The valuable national traditions will be truly worthwhile only when we have enough courage to face the sins and weaknesses of the past.

Unfortunately, in the cultivation of traditions we started with a bad heritage. The extreme concepts that bourgeois historical writing had of the *kuruc* and *labanc* trends, the confrontational debates, have survived in part to our days. For example, Szekfu's famous "The Exiled Rakoczi" still stirs debates among nonspecialists; human weaknesses and small historical episodes — whether they happened or not — frequently live on with help from certain teachers of history, and are given greater emphasis than their importance justifies.

We can find exaggerations from time to time in the cultivation of traditions. With one of these, "anniversary centrism," I do not wish to deal here because I agree with those who protest exaggerations and call attention to the worthy and modest forms of remembrance.

We may count among the exaggerations the celebrations of our losses in battle and our serious defeats. The remembrances can easily become ceremonial. In Szigetvar, for example, they have an annual observance of the fall of the fortress and the death of Kiklos Zrinyi. Observances annually repeated — independently of the intentions of those responsible — become a celebration, and moreover a spectacular, popular celebration. We have had similar concerns over the 450th anniversary of the Battle of Mohacs; the observance, as it was carried out, became a celebration, which presented various commentators with many opportunities. Some people at the same time, complained about the commentaries that it is improper to speak in mocking tones about Mohacs remembrances. In response to this, Imre Pozsgay, minister of culture, in a discussion at the 1976 autumn session of the National Assembly on the public education law, quoted Marx's famous thought: "The great nations stride

laughing over their former problems, exactly because they have surpassed them." In other countries, they give birth to musicals and comedies on historical turning points in the national past. We still have not reached far enough to do that, but we must also avoid exaggerations, form calm and sober thoughts about these questions.

In the discovery of our traditions — although we have done much — there are still bare areas. Above all, we must act more consistently and boldly in researching the traditions of the Hungarian workers' movement. We know relatively a great deal about the Hungarian Soviet Republic and Bela Kun, but we have shallow and one-sided knowledge of the activities of the Social Democrats and Jeno Landler. A faithful depiction of eras closer to us is an indispensable condition for making our young people knowledgeable not only of older eras — as has already been stated by many writers and newspaper men — but capable of commenting intelligently on the recent past, and certain problems in the workers' movement history. Likewise, we know very little — this applies not to the historians and specialists but to the broader public opinion — of the so-called other Hungary between the two world wars, of the history of civil and antifascist resistance. The activities of Endre Bajcsy-Zsilinszky, Vilmos Tarcsay, Oszkar Varihazy, etc. are known only to a very few and the presentation of their merits would likewise belong to the cultivation of traditions.

Our socialist national traditions which have developed since the liberation — land distribution, nationalization, the cultural revolution, the consolidation after the counter-revolution, the collectivization of agriculture — which must also be built into the national consciousness, like the earlier traditions, are left completely outside the usual interpretation of tradition. The schools and pedagogs must undertake a pioneer role in this regard.

The problem of familiarization with symbols belongs in part to traditions. Various school surveys have investigated to what extent the pupils know the symbolic meaning of the coat of arms of the Hungarian People's Republic, of the "Himnusz," and of the red flag. The results of these studies were depressing, and although it is dangerous to generalize on a relatively small body of data, I shall nonetheless risk it: the children, often even the adults, do not have a clear idea of these symbols. The national and the red flag are important to the interpretation of the unity of patriotism and internationalism. Janos Kadar said in a speech: we hold in our hands two flags at once, the red-white-green national flag and the red flag of the workers' movement; with the national colors it is not possible to fight against the red flag of the proletariat, and with the red color it is not possible to oppose the national flag. Thus by means of these symbols, the unity of patriotism and internationalism is made manifest. Education in patriotism and internationalism means that not even the small pupils will say that the red flag is the flag of the Soviet Union, but will know that the red color is the symbol of internationalism.

Frequently, the wish is expressed that the young might do more for the socialist homeland. But do they actually have enough scope for action to do more for the Hungarian People's Republic? Frequently, it is also said that the youth,

or a part of it, is too critical, sometimes too cynical. In searching for the causes, some say that they understand our difficulties too well, our problems, and this makes them cynical.

I believe that there is a serious misunderstanding here. Some people think that when we do not talk of a matter it does not exist. We will not promote the education of the young in patriotism and internationalism by keeping quiet about the concerns, but by sharing with them the problems of the small and large community, and calling for their help in solving them. It is in frank talk and in developing and forming groups that there is a latent force capable of carrying us beyond our concerns and problems on the basis of a broad democracy and unity.

The propaganda organs of the capitalist world have for long prophesied that the problems of the Hungarian economy will end with a tightening of the belt. Economic problems will be countered by a repression of democracy. Socialist democracy in Hungary is not some kind of scenery, or a valve for the release of accumulated social and economic problems, but a serious part of our everyday life. Responsible, critical behavior of citizens and patriots. Only with responsible people can we develop and advance the community. That is why we oppose all kinds of petit bourgeois indifference, which is still to be found in our society but the existence of which we must not exaggerate.

A community attitude is developed in small communities. Together with Endre Ady we say: from the Ur to the Ocean we arrive. No one can be a man of the community, love his country truly, the greater community, the community of socialist countries who is angry with the small community. No one can love mankind in general who does not love people. The large community is built from the small; the attitudes developed in small communities motivate solutions to the problems of the large community and the socialist homeland.

#### Rightful National Pride

Among pedagogs the question is frequently raised why we do not dare educate for patriotism, why is a rightful national pride regarded as nationalism, why do we become different in speaking of the achievements of our past and present?

Socialist patriotism does not exclude, in fact it assumes, that a rightful national pride will develop nourished on our past and present. We can justifiably be praised that the Hungarian people, the best of our nation rose to the forefront of the freedom fights, the revolutions and, in the liberation periods, of social progress. We can proudly claim as our own such well known figures of social and national progress coming from different social environments and setting forth with varying goals as Tancsics, Petofi, Lajos Kossuth, or Bela Kun, Tibor Szamuely, Jeno Landler, Mihaly Karoly, and the heroes and martyrs in the battle against fascism and for liberation.

In many respects our social and national development was delayed and limited as compared to the progress among other peoples and nations of Europe. And

still, we can be proud of our progressive and revolutionary ideological traditions, which also in the centuries past have shown that the Hungarians were always receptive to the ideas of world revolution and progress.

The outstanding talents of our nation have also given much to the accumulated treasures of mankind. We can rightfully be proud of the poetry of Petofi, Ady and Attila Jozsef, the music of Bartok and Kodaly, the paintings of Munkacsy, Derkovits and Csontvary, and the scientific works of Anyos Jedlik, Tivadar Puskas, Lorand Eotvos, Kalman Kando.

Beyond all this, we can rightfully be proud of the revolutionary battles of the Hungarian working class and the heroic work performed by the peasants under an oppression that lasted for centuries. At the same time, this pride in the past is inseparable from socialism, which liberated labor, and with the leadership of the working class and based on the living and growing strength of socialist national unity made it possible to develop a strong nation.

There is an invisible line of division, however, between a rightful national pride and nationalism. Let us not raise our people, our nation above other people and nations; we are not less, but neither are we more than others. Let us not be mistrustful of other people, and with our own self-esteem let us not hurt others. If we act like that, we will not be at fault and still we can educate more boldly for patriotism.

In educating for nationalism and internationalism, there are many who think the emotional factors are stressed too little; in fact, there are some who feel that emotional factors have been completely forced out of school education. It is not an easy task to develop a proper ratio between sense and feeling in education. I maintain that an education of emotional content, particularly in the young, is indispensable, but still we must primarily base our education in a world outlook on reason, facts and knowledge. One school survey showed that eighth grade pupils educated in internationalism could not name the countries where socialism is being built. There were some communities of 600-700 persons where there were scarcely a few pupils who could name all the European socialist countries.

At the KISZ [Federation of Communist Youth] initiative, we observe three spring holidays in the framework of the Days of Revolutionary Youth. These observances also enrich the motions; we could expand these forms, taking care, however, that the observances do not become romantic. A knowledge of facts and reality, however, are indispensable; facts cannot be replaced by feelings. Ady was right; no matter how often we sing the "Himnusz" this still does not mean a real love of country; or I can also quote Vorosmarty's true line: "He toasts the homeland, and shouts, but would he only do something once..."

#### Against Nationalism

In our days, socialist patriotism and internationalism, like nationalism and cosmopolitanism, appear not only in abstract theoretical problems but in

mutual interrelationships with everyday problems of social, economic and cultural life. One of the most difficult tasks of world outlook education was always the application to everyday life of theoretical propositions.

The recognition of nationalism is a precondition for successfully confronting the various nationalist outlooks and flow of ideas. In seeking to dissolve the unity of the socialist parties, in anti-Soviet incitement, in weakening the unity of the socialist countries and the Third World, the international bourgeoisie rely on nationalism. This ideological diversion can cause — and unfortunately sometimes did cause — serious disturbances among us. In the past decade, when some social, political or foreign political problem has arisen we have frequently met, linked to the subject, Marxist-Leninist or, on the contrary, bourgeois and petit bourgeois (nationalist, cosmopolitan) approaches.

It is not possible to fight nationalism with nationalism. Again and again, we must explain this with great patience to those who up to now have not recognized that not a single social, economic, etc. problem has been successfully solved on a nationalist basis. In this regard, Kolcsey's statement is still valid: only a national policy linked with progress is capable of solving the nationality problem. In our view, the only alternative to solving the national, nationality problem is socialism, because no other solution has been found in the course of history.

The modalities of the struggle against nationalism are still not worked out to any considerable extent. Our party consistently opposes nationalist views, but the opposition must be directed at the view, and not at people. This is especially important if we find nationalist notions among young people and those in school.

One source of nationalism is latent in the faulty interpretation of nationality policy. It is one of the characteristics of Central East Europe that in the course of history, states with many nationalities were formed. Among people living together but with varying ethnic backgrounds, it was always easier to incite hostility than develop unity, a feeling of community. The former ruling classes (without regard to ethnic background) always emphasized for their own people what separated them from the others, and not that which bound them together. Here, too, there is a positive heritage: the greatest Hungarian poet was of Slovak origin, his father's name was Petrovics. Another one of our great poets wrote as follows of his ancestry: "My mother was Cumanian, my father half-Szekely, half Romanian, or perhaps all." Endre Ady profoundly believed in the realization of the unity of East European people. After the victory of the East European revolutions, when the antagonistic contradictions came to an end, new possibilities arose for the Danube and the Olt to have a harmonious voice in all matters.

Many regard the solution of the nationality question as a transitory problem that could be quickly solved. Today we know that we will need a long time and much, much patience to solve this complicated problem. In the present practice of handling the nationality question, the only practical course can be

the consistent application of Leninist nationality policy. In a socialist nation the majority people and the nationalities are solid allies, their socio-political goals and interests are the same. When the culture, language and characteristic mode of life of the nationalities are protected and their educational requirements are satisfied, they become identical as citizens with the majority people. Nationalities cannot become a source for conserving contradictions; on the contrary, their task — as Zoltan Fabry conceive it — is, as a living bridge, to promote the closer approach of neighboring peoples living side by side. It is worthwhile building a bridge which will carry a heavy burden — the old hurts; the present burdens of common, joint work; and the transitory contradictions. We should not respond with nationalism to the errors that have been committed in handling the nationality problem, or to arrive at the conclusion that the nationality problem remains insolvable in socialism, too.

In recent years, an old debate has been resurrected: Should we regard the gypsies as a nationality or not? The gypsies living in our country are not a nationality; our problems with the gypsy population — the social identification, cultural level, etc. — are starkly different from nationality problems. The gypsy problem is above all a social problem, and only in small part is it linked with folkloristic elements. The preservation of cultural values, the protection of gypsy folklore cannot be bound up with the conservation of a way of life that was antiquated a long time ago.

The gypsy problem has its special educational aspect as well, and I suspect that the actual debate started in part from the fact that in certain communities gypsy classes, gypsy nurseries were created — very correctly, I am convinced — in order that in their own homogenous communities they might with relatively greater ease and in a shorter time make up, above all, for their linguistic backwardness stemming from their unstimulating environment, and thereby join more rapidly in the work of regular group communities. We are, therefore, against maintaining special groups even after the possibility of their joining society, and thereby conserve, through the state, a further social separation. Behind the social tasks, we also see great pedagogical tasks in this matter. The councils, the pedagogical organizations and, above all, the appropriate party organs must afford greater appreciation to the pedagogs who have undertaken and still do this devoted work.

We must regard education in socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism as a long-range task. I am convinced that the dialectical unity of socialist existence and consciousness must be realized here, too. Our educational problem will be solved basically by social development and the building up of a developed socialist society. To do all this, of course, will require much work, as well as hardy and patient educational activity. I am thinking of work in common for the renewal of which we have characteristic possibilities and in which we can use the traditions of our earlier work — the successes and defeats alike. This is why I regard it as proper and necessary that we speak about these problems and make our experiences known.

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## HUNGARY

### CHURCH PUBLISHING ACTIVITY REVIEWED

Budapest HAZAI TUDOSITASOK in Hungarian 1 Jun 77 pp 11-12

[Article in the column "Church Life": "New Publishing Enterprises"]

[Text] Church publishers have increased by one this year. The Hungarian Bible Council has also joined their ranks, and thus there are now eight church publishing houses operating in the country. The Hungarian Bible Council had earlier directed a new Hungarian translation of the Bible for the Protestant churches. The publishers' camp had previously expanded in 1973, when the biweekly paper KATOLIKUS SZO also started to engage in book publishing.

It is common knowledge that not all are so young. For example, the Saint Stephen Society, working within the Hungarian Catholic Church, has already been printing books for nearly 180 years. This, moreover, is the largest church publisher in Hungary. Among the books issued from its plant, one must mention, first of all, the new Hungarian-language Bible, which a working group translated several years ago on the basis of critical editions of the original texts. A book entitled "Who Is This Man?" by Tamas Nyiri, professor of the Budapest Theological Academy, also achieved success. No doubt, many people, even abroad, are reading the volume "Collected Poems of Sandor Sik," which for the first time gathers together all the poems of the significant poet personality of Hungarian Catholicism. The Saint Stephen Society, moreover, also bears the title Publisher of the Apostolic Holy See, and takes care of the publications of the Hungarian Bench of Bishops. In this capacity, it puts out prayer books, books of religious instruction and service books.

The second large Catholic publisher is the Ecclesia Cooperative, which is, in addition, also concerned with religious articles. Among the books published by it, Antal Ijjas' "Lives of the Saints," Richard Horvath's "From Man to God," and the "Confessions of Saint Augustine," were especially popular. Last year, in addition, 355,000 Catholic books were issued from the press.

In the Reformed Church, the Synod Office puts out books--last year, 27 works of 127,000 copies. The greatest demand was for the new translation of the Bible and the "Illustrated Calvin Calendar." Here, too, there appeared many service books, books of religious instruction and prayer books. They also regard it as important that they provide the possibility for publication of belles lettres--novels and poems--on religious subjects.

They have also issued two novels on Old Testament subjects, whose titles are "David" and "Moses", an anthology of belles lettres entitled "Treasure-Chest"; an anthology of poetry, entitled "Church Window", and a collection of essays, entitled "In the Palm of God." Among works on scholarly subjects, the volume prepared on the occasion of the 300th anniversary of the birth of Janos Csere Apaczai is significant.

Among the other non-Catholic churches, the Evangelical has its own publishing house, and issues works of identical character to those of the Reformed Church. The Council of Free Churches--which embraces 11 religious communities--likewise issues books, chiefly books on theological subjects and books necessary for services. The most important of the works published by the Jewish denomination is the "Hebrew Calendar," in which there is great interest even abroad.

#### Lexicon of Protestant Church History

An old wish of researchers into the Hungarian Protestant past--church historians, historians, researchers into the history of literature and the history of education--has become reality, since Jeno Zovanyi's "Lexicon of Protestant Church History in Hungary" has now been made public property. The work by this outstanding personage of Hungarian Protestant church history research and writing, which was the crown of Zovanyi's life work, all but unequalled--not solely in a domestic connection--is an indispensable resource for educators in numerous branches of learning, since it embraces the description of the past and activity of Hungarian Protestant personages and institutions, as well as of those not of Hungarian nationality and language who shared a common fate with them.

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ASSESSMENT OF EDWARD GIEREK'S SITUATION

Brussels SPECIAL in French 8 Jun 77 pp 67-70

[Article by Olivier Chevrillon and Georges Suffert: "Poland is Stirring"]

[Text] At 0720 hours on Saturday, 7 May, the body of Stanislas Pyjas, 24, was found in the entryway of 7 Szewska Street in Krakow. He had two head wounds and chest contusions. A few days later, the police claimed he had fallen down the stairs, but no one believed them. The students are convinced that Pyjas, a member of the Workers Defense Committee (KOR), was arrested and beaten by the militia. Beaten to death. Was it just an accident or a provocation? That is the question. At any rate, in a matter of a few days, the body of this young man found less than 100 meters from the largest square in Krakow was to shake all of Poland.

In the beginning, nothing happened. The police, notified by the employees of a restaurant in the back of the building's courtyard, removed the body.

Before the morning was over, all Krakow knew what had happened. It was not too difficult for students to put the facts together. They had seen Pyjas for the last time on Friday afternoon at about 1600 hours. He then seems to have disappeared. The news of his death reached Warsaw in the afternoon. The police could tell that something was underfoot. Theoretically, these are days of celebration for Krakow students: The Juvenalia festival is at its height. But by Saturday afternoon, the festivities were dying and the students disappeared. Immediately, the militia donned civilian clothing.

But not in Warsaw, where in the evening, the police invaded the railroad station, determined to prevent many students and intellectuals from leaving for Krakow. Some 30 arrests were made in the evening on the station platform. One of the young men summoned by police was told, "Be careful! It's easy to fall down a stairway!" Adam Michnik, a young dissident leader returning from a trip abroad, left Warsaw Saturday morning by car, taking a side road to Krakow. He was intercepted on the way and taken to prison.

But in Krakow, temperatures continued to mount. At 0100 hours on Sunday, a delegation of students went to the City Hall and asked to see the mayor.

They wanted the Juvenalia festivities to be halted as a sign of mourning. The mayor had them told he was not in. The party secretary then proposed to receive the students but they refused, not wishing to negotiate anything with the party.

At 0900 hours on Sunday morning, a crowd of students thronged to the Dominican chapel. A mass was said for Pyjas. There was not room for everyone and the overflow followed the service from the street. Leaving the mass, young students formed a cortege. At its head were flags draped with black crepe. Not one cry, not one streamer. In all, they numbered between 4,000 and 6,000, a tiny figure for Western countries. But one must be careful. We are on the other side of what is still called the iron curtain. Demonstrating in our countries means risking a beating and a day in jail. In Poland, one stakes his diploma, his job, sometimes his life, a substantial difference.

#### Procession-Demonstration

The cortege moved down the street, finally coming to the immense and beautiful Cloth Hall (Sukiennice) Square where, under the gaze of the motionless crowds lining the sidewalks, it paid homage to the spot before the building where Pyjas died. Flowers piled up in the archway; candles burned on the ground. Day and night for the next week, thousands of silent Polish people would come to that mortuary chapel, entering the house over whose doorway, by one of those quirks of fate, a lamb is carved, stopping before the banks of flowers, meditating a moment, and then leaving, urged on by the crowd behind.

But at 2100 hours on Saturday evening, once again opposite the house, some 5,000 to 8,000 students gathered together in a matter of minutes. Night fell. Suddenly, thousands of candles were lit. Every student had one in his hand or a lantern. The procession-demonstration moved toward the square. At their windows, the people of Krakow watched. The militia appeared only once: Suddenly, it cut off the demonstration and tried to push back part of the students. As a result, there were two columns instead of one, which were reunited under the impressive walls of the Wawel, the old fortress of Krakow. A few students stepped forward and read a statement. The official union of students would henceforth be disqualified, they said. They announced the establishment of a truly representative committee and gave the names of those who would act in their behalf (a cardinal tactical point: in Poland, militant workers and students reject working underground, preferring to play their cards openly. The police can arrest them if they want, but others will immediately take their place, they believe).

For a week, the atmosphere in the major Polish universities was charged. The police made arrests as a precautionary measure. In the end, ten persons were put in prison to stay. Here are their names: Kuron, Michnik, Lipski, Naimski, Chojacki, Macierewicz, Ostrowski, Blumensztajn, Litynski and Plinka.

It was learned that they were charged on the basis of the hazy Article 132 of the Penal Code: complicity with outside enemies of the state, and to be

precise, in this case, with the groups behind Radio Free Europe (the American station which broadcasts from Germany) and the periodical KULTURA (edited by Polish exiles in Paris).

All of a sudden, the whole series of incidents took on its real political significance. What does it matter whether Pyjas was the victim of an accident or a low-level provocation? The question facing the Polish Government is roughly this: It can do nothing and gain time while waiting for things to calm down, then discreetly free the arrested persons. But in this case, it takes the risk of seeing the agitation, which has been continuously brewing since June among the workers and which is now developing among the students, shake the whole country awake. In sum, the climate now reigning in Poland is not without similarities to the climate in Prague a few months before the outbreak of Spring 1968.

Or -- and this is more likely -- the government can decide to put an end to the agitation and in this case, will have to make mass arrests and therefore hold trials.

#### Stakes

But would a political trial in East Europe, a few months before the Belgrade conference on "the free circulation of men and ideas," not bring into question the fragile equilibrium of the new East-West rapprochement?

That is the question which Pyjas' death has suddenly posed. The Polish Church is aware of the formidable stakes of the events of recent days. With extreme caution, it is trying to protect the students and workers and exert pressure on the government to choose the path of tolerance. It is doing so without weakness. At the memorial mass for Pyjas, held at 2000 hours on Friday, 20 May, at St. Martin's Church in Warsaw -- which was filled to capacity and surrounded by police -- the priest was very clear: "Pyjas died a martyr's death, the death of Christ. But in his death, there is the hope of resurrection to comfort us. You must be calm in order to disappoint those awaiting your agitation. Perhaps they do not await it, but at any rate, do not offer it to them."

That same day, Cardinal Wyszynski protested the arrests in a public bulletin. The Church is navigating as carefully as possible. Seeing that it will henceforth be the only reserve of authority that exists in that trembling country, it knows it does not have the right to make a single mistake.

#### Revolt and Strike

What makes the political situation in Poland so explosive? It is mainly the economic situation which has created a tenuous, but cardinal, link between workers and students. At first sight, the situation appears inextricable.

In order to understand, one has to go back roughly to 1971. At that time, the government decided to block the price of basic food commodities. It was

a simple measure from which it expected miracles, but like all such blocks, it solved nothing. By means of a thousand subterfuges (the black market, in particular), the true prices continued to mount. The authorities were simultaneously forced to accept wage increases here and there. In 1976, the results came down to a simple formula: The government makes up all the deficits. An official gives a figure: "For every 100 zlotys paid to peasants on the market, the government gives them 60 more so that they can make ends meet."

On 25 June of last year, Gierek announced on television a massive increase in food prices, more or less compensated for by a wage increase. It was a logical economic measure, but it was too abrupt. Violent revolts broke out a few hours later in two working cities (Radom and Ursus).

Everyone knew about this at the time. What was not reported was the fact that on 26 June, Poland suffered an almost general strike, an unprecedented event in an Eastern country. The workers did not work. They were debating, telephoning from one plant to another, and some even threatened to sabotage the equipment. The reaction was so frightening that on the next day, the chairman of the Council of Ministers had to go on television to reverse the move and revoke all measures decided upon. It was a relief, but the distortion of prices was to continue. The Polish economy has now reached an impasse, as two figures show: the debt, put by foreign experts at an estimated \$10 billion, and the probable deficit in the trade balance, which would be \$3 billion in 1977. These are fabulous sums.

And yet, the Polish Government is doing all it can to try to develop production. Polish is now the fourth-ranking coal producer -- 120 million tons -- in the world. Since Gierek has been in power, industrial production has doubled and investments tripled. But it is Soviet-type development: The effects on consumers are not always evident. The average Polish man on the street is unaware of these results. He sees only one thing: "Before, the sign said 'Butcher Shop' and one found meat inside. Now the sign says 'Meat,' but one finds only the butcher!"

The story of meat is typical of the psychological errors of the Plan. In 1976, Poland did not have enough forage crops. That was already serious enough. But a few words pronounced at the 7th Congress of the party gravely upset the peasants: The party was getting ready to extend the percentage of collectivized agriculture. The farmers no longer hesitated: They killed as many animals as they could in order to make money immediately. Between the winter of 1975 and the end of 1976, the number of cattle dropped by 6 percent and the number of hogs by 22 percent. It was a veritable catastrophe. In 1976, the Polish Government had to buy 8 million tons of grain and 70,000 tons of meat abroad, and this in one of the greatest agricultural nations in the world.

#### Gierek's Policy

The standard of living has naturally improved in the last 10 years. Nevertheless, wages are low and the lines, sugar coupons and the housing crisis

(endemic since the war) still form the background in Poland. As a result, the traditional corrective phenomena emerge by themselves: the black market, the accelerated enrichment of certain professions (florists, market gardeners, repairmen of all types, artists protected by the party, and so on). Whence the appearance of small cars in the streets of the large Polish cities. A car means freedom.

In this difficult climate, Gierek is trying by every means possible to maintain what is called the "Polish singularity" among Eastern countries. The phrase customarily used to define his determination is: "Gierek wants Poland to remain the best hut in the camp." The intention is clear but very difficult to realize, for Gierek's relative liberalism and the economic crisis form a deafening mixture. The reception given to Wadja's film is revealing. It goes without saying that within the party itself, Gierek has adversaries demanding the tightened fist and repression. All observers agree on one point: If Gierek is carried away by a crisis, the leader put in his place will not hesitate to make arrests and go to trial. There is reportedly one pretender: Stefan Olszowski, one of the youngest members of the Politburo. Two months ago, he was received in Moscow and surrounded by exceptional attentions. A good observer summed up the situation in a phrase: "Since all the alternative solutions are worse, I am for Gierek 100 percent."

#### A Rock: the Church

In the middle of this uncertain and dangerous situation is a rock: the Church. It has made the government back down on various agrarian collectivization measures and prevented new regulations on the employment of minors that would have made them work three weeks in a row without a day off. It is everywhere. And yet, it has no access to radio or television, has no youth or adult movement, nothing! It only has its parishes, but it is growing. It has even recovered part of the properties from the German Catholic Church in the Western annexed territories. Peasants are discreetly building prefabricated wooden chapels which they can put up in a single night: Some 70 churches have been built in this way in a matter of a few years in the Przemyśl diocese alone. Generally speaking, the authorities do not dare do anything. One day, Monsignor Tokarczuk, bishop of Przemyśl, found 15 microphones inside his bishopric. He turned them into a votive offering, explained the occurrence from the pulpit on Sunday and asked parishioners to pray for people "who waste their time in this fashion."

Actually, the Church continually tries to preserve a calm atmosphere. Everything takes place in discreet meetings between the minister of religious affairs, Kazimierz Kakol, and the secretary of the episcopacy, Dabrowski. There is usually no bulletin issued. The Church does not want to throw oil on the fire but feels responsible for the workers and peasants and beyond them, for Poland as a nation. It believes that the Communist Party is sick, organizationally as well as ideologically. But it knows that there is no replacement solution. And therefore, it is biding its time. But it fears for the future.

The Church is too well informed not to believe that the unrest moving certain worker and student milieus will in the end be to its advantage. A professor defines the Church's situation with a formula: "Poland is the only country in the East where there is a big organized, disciplined, popular and moderate party: the Church."

However, on Friday, Cardinal Wyszynski modified his attitude for the first time. He made a stinging denunciation of the arrests. This was a totally uncustomary reprimand since he believed that the situation was about to turn into generalized repression. But this time, the Church will not be able to remain neutral.

#### Polish Humor

In Poland, jokes are part of daily conversation. Here are a few examples.

#### Brezhnev and the Sun

Leonid Brezhnev got up one morning, went out on his balcony and watched the sun come up. Suddenly, he was astonished to hear that the sun was speaking to him.

"Good morning, Leonid. How are you? Aren't you a little tired?"

"Good morning, Sun," Brezhnev replied. "I am fine. It is nice of you to take an interest in me."

"Well, after all, you are an important person," the sun said.

At noon, Brezhnev, tired, went out on his balcony again. The sun, now above him, spoke to him again.

"Good morning, again, comrade Leonid. Hasn't it been a hard day?"

"Thank you, comrade Sun. Everything is going pretty well. I am touched that you are still thinking about me."

"But I am your friend, Leonid."

In the evening, Brezhnev, tired out by meetings, discussions and intrigues, went out on a balcony on the other side of the Kremlin. On the horizon, the sun was going down. Brezhnev was surprised to see that the big red ball no longer said anything to him.

"Hey, Mr Sun," Brezhnev said, "why have you grown so silent? I like it when you speak to me."

Silence. Then the sun replied:

"Go somewhere where you can be seen. I am in the West now."

### The Rabbit and Planning

A rabbit was sitting in front of the impressive Planning building. Another rabbit approached him. The first rabbit said:

"Do you know what they have just decided in there, on the pretext that there is a meat shortage?"

"No."

"They are going to cut off all rabbits' fifth foot. Things are getting serious."

"Not at all. We don't have five feet!"

"That just shows you don't understand a thing about socialism. They will cut off any foot, then say it was the fifth one. After that, they will liquidate the planning chairman for having cut off the wrong foot."

### Average Pole's Budget

A Polish economist has summed up the situation:

"On the average, a Pole earns around 4,000 zlotys a month. He spends twice that much and saves the rest to buy a car."

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CSO: 3100

POLAND

'LE MONDE' COMMENTS ON POLAND'S ECONOMIC SITUATION

Paris LE MONDE in French 2 Jun 77 p 6

[Commentary by Manuel Lucbert: "Head of Government Concerned Over Market Shortages"]

[Text] Vienna -- Contrary to their hopes, the Polish leaders are obliged to admit that the economic situation in their country continues to be difficult. In a speech delivered before the Diet on Monday, 30 May, and published Tuesday, Jaroszewicz, head of the government, did not conceal his concern.

The black points noted by Jaroszewicz are the same as in recent years: the market is still inadequately supplied. Demand continues to exceed supply, and this despite increased imports of meat and supplementary investments (more than 10 billion zloyts this year) in consumer goods industries. The market is scheduled to receive in 1977, besides the goods provided for in the plan, some 3.3 billion zlotys worth of merchandise.

This effort is still insufficient to restore the balance because of the income explosion. Incomes have risen by 14 percent since the beginning of the year, while the plan anticipated only a 6.3 percent rise. This situation is the result, on the one hand, of the combativeness of the workers, and on the other, of the employment market situation, characterized by a shortage of manpower. Jaroszewicz strongly objected to this state of affairs and said that it was necessary "to firmly oppose certain irregularities in the employment policy and in the management of wage funds."

The second subject which concerns the head of the Polish Government is the building industry. According to Jaroszewicz, the plan in this sector has lagged behind since the beginning of the year. This admission is all the more embarrassing because the party has made accelerated housing construction one of its favorite topics in the battle to raise the standard of living of the population. This subject will figure on the agenda of the Central Committee meeting next week.

Finally, the head of government emphasized the shortages in the export sector. Expectations concerning the capitalist countries were only about

25 percent realized in the first 4 months of the year. Jaroszewicz complained of the quota and customs barriers raised by the Western countries against trade with Poland and noted that the stagnation of economic activity in Western Europe was not helping to stimulate exports from his country to that area. However, he issued a warning to his Western partners. If they do not make an effort, he said, to buy more from Poland, his government will be forced to reduce its import from the West. He has already indicated that imports would now have to be "rationalized."

### "To Disintegrate Society"

Jaroszewicz made an allusion to the domestic political situation. He noted the existence of certain attempts aimed, he said, at "disintegrating society." He did not refer expressly to the hunger strike conducted by the 11 and then 14 persons confined for the past week in a chapel of Saint-Martin Church, in Warsaw, to demand the release of workers imprisoned a year ago and of nine members of the Committee for the Support of the Workers. The movement, which began on 24 May, ended as scheduled Tuesday evening 31 May. But, after a medical examination, the group preferred to spend the night in the cloister adjoining the church.

This action was harshly criticized in the press. Several commentators accused the strikers of wanting to poison relations between Church and State. The ZYCIE WARSAWY, which has a big circulation, particularly distinguished itself in this campaign, accusing the strikers of being "terrorists." Tuesday the Polish Writers' Union announced that it had intervened to ask for the release of Jean-Jospeh Lipski, literary historian and one of the principal members of the Committee for Support, who is currently under arrest.

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CSO: 3100

## POLAND

### SWISS COMMENTARY ON REACTION TO POLAND'S DOMESTIC CONFLICTS

Zurich NEUE ZERCHER ZEITUNG in German 22-23 May 77 p 4

[Article by OK: "Increasing Gravity of the Domestic Political Conflict in Poland: Nervous Reactions of the Communist Regime"]

[Text] As was to be expected, the unexplained death of the Krakow student leader Stanislaw Pyjas has sharpened the domestic political crisis in Poland. The mighty proclamations of mourning which were held last weekend in the old royal city for the deceased have given the opposition new impetus which extends far beyond the regional ranking of the conflict at the place of Pyjas' death, and mobilizes emotions in the other important centers of the country, above all in Warsaw and in the industrial center of Lodz. The opposition finally has a martyr symbol, something which can have devastating consequences for the establishment in Poland, as the history of Polish divisions and occupations teaches. The Pyjas case easily fits into this geneology.

#### Reawakened Tradition of Resistance

The official version of the background of the tragedy in Krakow and the secretly organized burial for the dead student leader have not only embittered the active opposition; in wide sections of the public the opinion has been formed, whether correctly or incorrectly, that a murder is being covered up here. The regime will not be able to do anything with this mood in spite of all its efforts. The requiems for Pyjas, conducted by Dominican monks, who always have stood in the first line with students and workers, join the tradition of anti-Russian and anti-German resistance and throw sharp light on the crisis between the ruling bureaucracy and the oppositional protest. The situation seems to be very serious. Gierek's admonition that the opposition must not under any circumstances have a martyr has failed. In Poland there are the strangest theories about the background of the death in Krakow. Among them is the suspicion that Pyjas was not killed by the Krakow police but by agents of the Russian Secret Service, the KGB, possibly in cooperation with forces in Poland which are interested in Gierek's fall.

#### Intense Activity

Gierek did succeed over the past weekend, by strict orders to the police, in preventing bloodshed in Krakow. There was definitely danger of this,

for several thousand students were ready for any conflict, and a few kilometers away from the center of town there was the dedication of the new church in the middle of the steel works of Nowa Huta with the participation of 50,000 workers. The security authorities followed Warsaw's order.

In the meantime, the activity of the police has been concentrated on several members of the Committee for the Defense of the Workers. Six members of this committee have now been in jail for three days. Also, a few assistants of the committee, mainly from student groups, but also from worker milieu, have been hit by reprisals. The behavior of the police forces exceeds the previous practice of temporary harassment. Up to now the rule of thumb was that arrests would not last longer than 48 hours. Now preventative arrest is made, which, depending upon the interpretation of the Public Prosecutor's Office or the Warsaw courts, can last from three days to six months. To be sure, the arrest instructions in the penal code clearly refer to those who commit serious crimes, particularly in cases where the dwelling place of the criminal cannot be determined, where difficulties in identification exist or where there is a danger for public security. When, nevertheless, arrests are made, the suspicion arises that the Public Prosecutor's Office is striving for a combined case of treason and disturbance of the public peace. This is also indicated by a commentary of the semi-official ZYCIE WARSZAWY on Wednesday.

#### Appeal on Behalf of those Arrested

Warsaw, May 20. (dpa). Polish writers and artists, in a public appeal, have demanded the release of the arrested members of the Committee for the Defense of the Workers. In the appeal the 17 signers, some of whom are very prominent, certify that the committee is the "only social institution in Poland" which has supported the families of those who have been fired and thrown in jail. The committee members that have been arrested recently are not criminals, they say, but rather selflessly sacrificing, committed human beings.

The arrests could only sharpen the social tensions, the appeal continued. Independently of political convictions, they said, public opinion in Poland and abroad should condemn the police methods and demand the release of those arrested. Among the signers are thirteen writers, some of whom are known in the West, as well as the world famous violin virtuoso, Wanda Wilkomirska and the painter Anna Trojanowska.

#### Cardinal Wyszynski Against the Repression

Warsaw, May 19. (dpa). The primate of Poland, Cardinal Wyszynski, condemned the policy of repression on Thursday and demanded the "the whole system of control over the human being" be changed. In a very sharp sermon in the Church of St. Ann of Warsaw he did not mention the latest incident directly, but he alluded clearly to it as he called for understanding for youth.

When one gives things preference over the human being, then the human being is in last place among the social, civil and national things, said the Cardinal. He even seems disturbing, the Cardinal continued, when he speaks of his basic rights and demands them sometimes "in an impatient and drastic

way." But without the human being, said the Cardinal, and without the secure establishment of his human rights, the state and the nation would consist only of dead souls, and they could not fulfill their mission.

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## ROMANIA

### PETTINESS OF WRITERS CONFERENCE SPEAKERS CRITICIZED

Bucharest SAPTAMINA in Romanian 3 Jun 77 p 1

[Editorial: "Literature and Its Moral Dimension"]

[Text] Generations grow in the cult of literature just as they grow in the cult of labor. The first book which enchants the eye and makes it accustomed to the miraculous roundness of the letter is the reading book. All the books which try to present a sublimated image of life are written by men who are sensitive to the truths of existence. In our country, with variations of intensity, the man of letters is an outstanding personality, an exceptional human being, an individual who can do well in something which only a few are able to do. A writer can be born easily but he is made with much difficulty. The respect of the multitudes for men of the pen is not an anomaly nor an exaggeration but something as natural as can be.

Today, perhaps more than yesterday, the admiration and love of the masses thirsting for the beautiful are poured out upon the artist. We knew this but we were to hear it once again from the secretary general of the party, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, at the opening of the recent national writers conference: "The works inspired by the realities of the country, by the struggle of the builders of socialism, and by our rich history justifiably have enjoyed and enjoy the esteem of the readers". The entire speech of the president of the country was a manifestation of the deep feeling of our people and of the party for writers. Those present in the small hall of the Palace and those who read the masterful report realized how warm words can be when they express the truth.

The beginning of the forum of pen wielders was thus produced under the best auspices. The delegates were offered bountiful subjects for discussion, major problems of our literary life: the diversification of forms and styles, the new function of literary circles, the artist's understanding of his times, the treatment of the concerns of workers and of the social classes, the ways of ennobling the human being and raising the general level of awareness, the exploration of conflicts profitable for

all literary genres, etc. Many of these lively themes were discussed with a sense of responsibility during the conference.

All the more bewildering, in this context of high artistic and civic responsibility, are some positions of petty resonance, some so-called points of view in which egoistic interests try, certainly without succeeding, to present themselves in the garb of higher meanings. It is incomprehensible that, instead of posing acute problems of literature, there are still some people who are concerned with the fact that...some writers eat too much, that they are too fat, that some live on a street with too much shade and others on a boulevard with too much sun...The impression of the serious public is that the man of letters is a noble person, morally fine and that his work is the result of a rich, healthy inner life. This impression is not erroneous, generally speaking, but literary life often includes, along with true talents, certain ambitious characters, individuals in conflict with the system, persons who present insolence as an original point of view! However, the writer is judged on the basis of his works by the supreme court which is the reader, a court which cannot, in any case, be deceived by declarations and tricks. Some of the speeches at the Conference were distressing because of the nothingness which they supported. There are, unfortunately, authors, some of them rather young, steered by other older writers, who seek success everywhere except in work. The fact is regrettable.

The National Conference of Writers had its merits, which no one wants to diminish, and the results of the serious discussions will undoubtedly be seen. The advice addressed to the pen wielders to go directly to the source of life and to obtain sound subjects from the agitation of individuals and the masses is profoundly legitimate and in accordance with aesthetic and ethical criteria. The truth of art is different from the truth of life but it is not opposed to it under any circumstances. The writer's view of the times in which we live must be objective. Conflicts should not be ignored but it is not right for us, because of inertia and anachronism, not to feel the living pulse of a truly revolutionary period.

Confident in the strength of our writers, Comrade Nicolae Ceausecu strongly reaffirmed that the Union of Writers should be capable of analyzing its activity and works with full responsibility. Not only the Union but also each writer has been invested with this great confidence. Thus, the secretary general of the party has opened to us undreamed-of prospects. No effort is too great to achieve this goal. It is time for the Union of Writers to go beyond being a clique and for this community of sensitive persons to become more conscious of the mission which it has assumed.

CSO: 2700

ROMANIA

BURTICA CHARGES UNION OF WRITERS LAX IN GUIDANCE OF WRITERS

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 30 Jun 77 p 6

[Speech by Cornel Burtica at the Plenum of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party and the Higher Council for Economic and Social Development on 29 Jun 77]

[Text] I would like to state that I am in agreement with the documents submitted for discussion by our plenum, documents which mark new steps on the road of the economic and social progress of the country, the raising of the material and intellectual standard of living of the population, and the improvement and perfecting of socialist democracy.

Also, I would like to express some opinions in regard to some of the points on the agenda.

I consider the measures in regard to the perfecting of education to be of special importance for the good professional training of the youth in accordance with the needs of the country and for the education of the youth by work and for work. Drawn up in accordance with the resolutions of the Plenum of the Central Committee of the party of November 1976, under the direct guidance of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, these measures will represent, in my opinion, a great step forward on the road to the integration of education with practice, with life, and with research.

Certainly, energetic actions are necessary now in order to guarantee, in the spirit of the resolution of the leadership of our party, the consistent application of these measures. Therefore, I consider that the party and state actively working in these fields should take all political and organizational measures to ensure the application of these resolutions without delay. Unfortunately, I must state, in an autocratic manner, that the proposals concerning education were submitted to the party leadership late. The party leadership asked for them much earlier but there was a delay. Therefore, I request the assistance of the county party committees so that these proposals can be implemented as rapidly as possible, with the expected results.

I believe that the draft decision on increasing the role and responsibility of the party and state, mass and public organizations, the unions of creativity, and the press in general, in the activity of informing and educating the workers. This resolution, initiated by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, reflects the constant concern of the secretary general for the perfecting of the forms of leadership of our society, for the continued improvement of socialist democracy, for the raising of the role of the masses in the leadership of all sectors of activity.

Of course, the application of these measures necessitates the increasing of the sense of responsibility of the communists and of all those who work in these fields, both for the content and for the orientation of the activity, in accordance with the party program, with the party resolutions, and with the directives of the secretary general of the party.

This is all the more necessary in light of the fact that, in these fields, despite the results obtained so far, we still have much to do. Serious efforts should be exerted to produce works in the socio-political field which have a rich idea content, which are properly oriented, which will respond to the needs of the political-ideological work of the party, and which treat the major problems which confront our society and about which Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has spoken to us on many occasions.

We have much to do in order to have a press and a radio and television which will respond to the demands which the leadership of the party and the secretary general of the party are placing before us. We still have great obligations to society, to the party leadership, to our secretary general, in the field of artistic creation--in literature, music, the plastic arts, films, entertainment, etc. The measures presented by our secretary general, which are enscribed in the draft resolution--that all works should be discussed with writers, workers, specialists, and critics before they are submitted for publication--are of great importance in ensuring the richest and most varied content, in accordance with the guidelines established by our party.

Also, I believe that these public discussions will lead to the elimination of harmful practices in publishing activity and in the literary press. The great success of the "Sing to Romania" national festival, initiated by Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, clearly illustrated what an extraordinary role can be played by the masses--the true beneficiaries of spiritual assets--in creation, in the orientation of art and in its interpretation.

Some shortcomings in publishing activity, in the literary press, and in literary activity have been pointed out here. The criticisms are just.

I must say--in an autocratic manner--that many shortcomings are being manifested in the guidance of literary creativity and also in the activity of the Union of Writers. Unfortunately, the group spirit still exists among some writers, unprincipled relationships between some writers are still being manifested.

There are also attempts on the part of some of the more boisterous writers to intimidate some of their more modest colleagues. I also believe that the literary press--both the central press and the county press--is not doing its duty thoroughly. The truth is that we are dealing with a poor presentation of the literary phenomenon, with a weak confrontation of ideas in the field of literary creation. It is also true that some of the chief editors of the literary reviews sometimes behave as if the review is their own estate. The Union of Writers and the Council for Culture are not guiding and supervising the literary reviews properly. Many of the shortcomings of the Union of Writers are a result of the poor political-educational work carried on by the party organizations, by defects existing in the education of some of the writers, and, also, by shortcomings in the Union of Writers' method of guidance.

I believe that another cause of these shortcomings is the fact that there are many writers who do not know life since they became members of the Union of Writers directly from the benches of the faculties. Some, very young, became pensioners of the Union of Writers or live on social assistance and credits from the Literary Fund.

As Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu pointed out at the conference of the Union of Writers and was evident from the discussions carried on during the conference, which were reflected in the amendments made in the Statute of the Union of Writers, the activity of this organization should be placed on completely different bases. In accordance with the demands of life, this union must become, in truth, a place for discussion and for guiding literary creativity. At the same time, problems related to pensions and other material matters should be resolved in a new way which would no longer divert the activity of the Union of Writers from the basic functions for which it was created, namely, to provide a propitious framework for the development of literary creation.

In my opinion, these shortcomings, and others, can be eliminated, by, first of all, having the support of the communists who work in the Union of Writers and of the writers who are members of the Central Committee. In many circumstances, the writers who are members of the Central Committee have supported the activity of the Union. However, I must point out that some of the writers who are members of the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party have not shown firmness in implementing the party resolutions in the Union of Writers.

It is necessary that the writers who are members of the Central Committee totally involve themselves in executing the guidelines given by the secretary general of the party and by the party leadership, both in their work of creation and in their political and social activity. It is the duty of communists in the Union of Writers--and, first of all, of members of the Central Committee--to serve as an example, especially by their own artistic creation, and by participation into the party life of the Union and the creation of a sound, principled climate for fruitful collaboration within the bureau and council of the Union.

I must say that I am looking at the shortcomings which I have pointed out through the prism of my own activity which, in my opinion, is not satisfactory in regard to the guidance of the Union of Writers. The truth is that both the propaganda section and myself, in my position, have not done enough to bring about the elimination of the phenomena about which I spoke earlier. We cannot say that we do not know what to do; Comrade Ceausescu told us, at the conference of the Union of Writers and on other occasions, how to act and what we must undertake. But an organized work is necessary now so that, step by step, all the directives of the secretary general of the party will be implemented. I pledge before the plenum, and before Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, that I will do everything to see that the tasks set will be put into practice, the activity in the ranks of the writers will be improved, and all writers of the country will participate with all their talent, with all their strength in creating works which will correspond to the guidelines given by the leadership of our party.

CSO: 2700

## BRIEFS

COURSE FOR ARABS--During the past week the course for trade union activists from the Arab countries, organized by the General Union of Trade Unions of Romania, began at the central trade union school in Stefan Gheorghiu Academy. The opening speech was given by Comrade Gheorghe Petrescu, deputy chairman of the Central Council of the General Union of Trade Unions of Romania. The participants were also greeted by Comrade Paun Bratu, prorector of Stefan Gheorghiu Academy. Mohammed Abdul Meguid Mossad, head of the department for Arab relations in the International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions, spoke in the name of the participants. Like other similar programs organized by the General Union of Trade Unions for trade union cadres from numerous countries, this course--in which activists from Algeria, Egypt, Iraq, Kuwait, Libya, Lebanon, Morocco, Mauritania, Syria, the Sudan, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, the Yemen Arab Republic and from the International Confederation of Arab Trade Unions, the General Federation of Jordanian Trade Unions, and the Federation of Trade Unions in Palestine are participating--represents a contribution to the continued strengthening of the friendship and collaboration of the trade unions and workers of Romania with the trade unions and workers in the Arab countries. [Text] [Bucharest MUNCA in Romanian 24 Jun 77 p 8]

CSO: 2700

YUGOSLAVIA

PUBLIC PROSECUTOR REPORTS CRIMINAL DATA FOR 1976

Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 30 Jun 77 p 6

[Excerpts] Dr Vuko Goce Gucetic, federal public prosecutor, reported at a recent meeting of the Federal Executive Council that in 1976 Yugoslav public prosecutors registered 349,758 new criminal cases, which is about 4.48 percent less than in 1975. Last year a total of 146,112 adults were charged with crimes, 126,669 of whom were tried in opstina courts and 17,413 in district courts. Both figures, however, were somewhat lower than the number charged in 1975.

Crimes against socialist property, private property, against official duties and against the general security are increasing, Gucetic said; but at the same time criminal acts committed against ethnic nationalities and the state, against the economy, physical assault, crimes against public order, and traffic crime have decreased considerably, as has juvenile delinquency.

He also reported that last year 1,772 cases of political crimes were reported in Yugoslavia, which is 26.7 percent less than the number registered in 1975. Also, the number of persons accused of political crimes decreased by 14.4 percent (from 1,319 in 1975 to 1,131 in 1976).

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